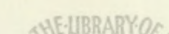
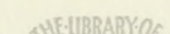
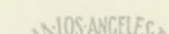
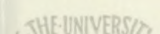


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THE
CLERGYMAN'S
ANSWER
TO THE
LAYMAN'S
LETTER,
ON THE
APPOINTMENT OF BISHOPS.

BY THE

Rev. John Milner, F. A. S.

L O N D O N:

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M,DCC,XC;

THE

CLERGYMAN'S

ANSWER, &c.

SIR,

I HAVE recieved a copy of your *Letter adressed to the Catholic Clergy of England on the appointment of Bishops*, but regret that you did not at the same time favor us with your name, as it might perhaps have superseded the necessity of this public address to you on the important subject you have started. Accustomed, Sir, as we the Clergy have been of late to be tutored in our professional study by men who have not received a theological, and sometimes not even a regularly learned education, it was not to be expected we should all of us at once rush on the important and dangerous innovations in the Hierarchy, Discipline and Ritual of the Church, you propose to us, without at least some previous enquiries and discussions. But there are other reasons

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for my wishing that, when you sounded your late alarm to the Catholic Public, you had at the same time published your name: It would probably have contributed greatly to elucidate the motives and scope of your proposed measures: we should judge from the tenor of your conduct and opinions whether you are actuated by that zeal, you make profession of, for the purity of religion, or whether you have some sinister end of avarice or ambition to answer; whether you are no more than a wandering sheep of our own flock, who require only to have the right road pointed out to you to return into it, or whether you are some discarded animal of another fold, who are come amongst us to spread the contagion of dissension and error: at all events the publication of your name would have argued a confidence in the goodness of your cause; and, as every real Catholic speaks under the correction of a living tribunal, it would have afforded a presumptive proof of your readiness to submit to censure in case you had spoken amiss.

There cannot be too many enquiries made, nor too great caution used where a subscription to new doctrinal articles, or an alteration of the established discipline, particularly in what relates to the bonds that connect us with the Centre of Unity, is called for. There was a time when, as St. Jerom* expresses it, *the Christian world was surprised to find itself betrayed into Arianism*: a great number of our
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* Dialog. contra Lucif.

most respectable Clergy complain that, by not examining the tendency and ground of the professions that were made and the assurances that were given them, they were unwarily committed on a late occasion to a degree they had no idea of: and to speak the truth in general with regard to the modern innovations in speculation and practice, many upright Catholics are afraid there is a settled plan amongst some of their brethren for reducing the Supremacy of the Pope to an empty title, a mere unsubstantial precedence of rank, and if not for separating from him, at least for taking such measures as will oblige him to separate from us. Amongst other grounds for this apprehension I may mention that I have lately seen a printed Letter addressed to the four Bishops by a writer who calls himself a Protestant Catholic, but who, like you, conceals his name, in which besides ridiculing the practice of Indulgences and the respect paid to Relics, both solemnly sanctioned by the last General Council*, he stiffly maintains, that the Pope's *power, authority and jurisdiction are confined to a primacy of rank, precedence and super-inspection*; that he is liable to be *excommunicated* by the *lowest prelate* in the Church†, and in particular that

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* Trid. Sess. 25. Decret de Indulg. Decret de Reliq. SS.

† In the General Council of Chalcedon, Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, was condemned for having *presumed to dictate a sentence of Excommunication against Leo Archbishop of Rome*. The great Bossuet in his *Defensio Cler.*

he has no real jurisdiction whatsoever in this Realm, or any where else out of his own district or domains, in direct opposition to the decisions of General Councils, the doctrine of the ancient Fathers, and even the modern declaration of the Gallican Church†.*

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Cler. Gal. l. 9. and his Annotator, admit the justice of this sentence, because the Excommunication in question, did not proceed from a General Council, but only from a particular Patriarch at the head of a synod of ten Bishops.

* See in particular the Council of Florence, Sess. 25. where it is defined, “ Romano Pontifici ut Christi vica-
“ rio, Petri successori, totius ecclesiæ capiti, omnium
“ christianorum Patri & Doctori, pascendi, regendi, gu-
“ bernandi universalem ecclesiam plenam potestatem a
“ Christo esse traditam.”

Concil. Trid. Sess. 14. 7. “ Merito Pontifices, pro su-
“ premâ potestate sibi in ecclesia universa tradita, causas
“ aliquas criminum graviores suo potuerunt peculiari ju-
“ dicio reservare.” Concil. Sardic. Can. 3. &c.

† In the second of their four celebrated articles, the Gallican Clergy declare, “ Sic inesse apostolicæ sedi ac
“ Petri successoribus, Christi vicariis rerum spiritualium
“ plenam potestatem ut simul valeant. . . Synodi Constan.
“ decreta de auctoritate conciliorum generalium.” . . .

Art. 4. “ In fidei questionibus præcipuas summi ponti-
“ ficis esse partes, ejusque decreta ad omnes & singulas eccle-
“ sias pertinere, &c.”

In their encyclical letter the Gallican Prelates say,
“ Claves primum uni esse traditas, ut unitati servarentur,
“ cum SS. PP. ecclesiæque doctoribus prædicamus, sicque
“ summorum pontificum, seu quoad fidem, seu quoad
“ generalem disciplinæ morumque reformationem decre-

“ tis,

It is true, Sir, you do not openly avow this schismatical doctrine, but your system appears evidently to be built upon it*. In fact you tell us that our present spiritual superiors, whom you opprobriously call *foreign emissaries*, though it is plain they are no otherwise so, than we ourselves are who have the honor of being addressed by you, *preside in virtue of an authority delegated by a foreign Prelate, who has no pretensions to exercise such an act of power*; you proclaim to the Catholics of this kingdom, that they are *bodies of faithful without Bishops*, as you say that those, whom we have been accustomed to consider
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“tis fideles omnes censemus esse obnoxios, ut supremus
“illius spiritualis potestatis usus per canones . . . moderandus sit.”

* If we may give credit to the most correct and authentic vehicle of parliamentary intelligence, his Majesty's chief Minister, in his speech on a late memorable occasion, has given a more serious cause of alarm to Orthodox Catholics, on the abovementioned subject, than any thing else does that has been yet mentioned. In answer to the arguments of Mr. F— in favor of the Dissenters, he says, “That the right honorable Gentleman's principles go not only to the admittance of Dissenters to com-
“pleat equality, not only of Roman Catholics, but also
“of Papists properly so called, (and he observed there was
“now a material difference between the two) *the latter
“acknowledging the supremacy of a foreign though an Eccle-
“siastical Prince.*” Woodfall's Diary, Wednesday March 3, 1790. We sincerely hope Mr. P— has either been more dull in comprehending, or more inaccurate in stating, the instructions he has received on the abovementioned important subject, than he is on most others.

as our bishops, are *Pastors without flocks*. You go so far as to deny these immediate delegates of the See of Peter *the power of the Keys*, and fraudulently cite the Council of Trent in support of this extravagant assertion*. If this be so, what a dreadful delusion have we hitherto been in, as well as the rest of the Church which has held communion with us! In this case we the whole Catholic Clergy, who derive our authority from this polluted source, have been destitute of a lawful mission, and of authority to administer the sacraments. It seems however that in discovering our evil you have provided a remedy for it, and that the plan you propose for our adoption will extricate us out of the labyrinth; this leads me more particularly to consider the merits of this plan.

You propose Sir, that in the present scarcity of Bishops, the Clergy of the Midland and Western Districts should assemble and choose to preside over them those Pastors whom you represent as having hitherto uncanonically and illegally exercised this authority: but this is evidently to be understood in your system, in case there are no other persons whom they think proper to prefer before them. However there is
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* Neither the Council of Trent. Sess. 14. c. 2. nor Pallavicini, l. 12. c. 13. who only cites the words of the Council, says a single word about the power of the Keys. The Council merely condemns those prelates, who not having any clergy or people of their own, presume to ordain the subjects of other Bishops. The words are *Clerici carum & populo christiano*.

an evident conveniency in electing the present incumbents, as they will in that case, you presume, be ready to consecrate those whom you advise the Clergy of the Northern and Southern Districts to choose for themselves, without any regard either to the appointment or the confirmation of the Apostolical See. But here, Sir, give me leave to remind you that you forget your own principles, which require, that the Laity, no less than the Clergy, should have an active voice in the election of their common pastor. In the second place you forget that, according to the constitution of our Church, there are two Archbishoprics and above twenty Bishoprics in England and Wales. It is true the Pope, about a century ago, divided the Southern part of the Island into four Vicarages, whereas before that time the whole Island formed but one. However, though the Council of Trent ascribes to him such power of uniting two or more Bishoprics together in certain cases*, it is plain that he by no means intended to alter the ancient constitution of our Church, should providence ever enable us to revive it in its ancient form. What he did then was only to ascertain the juridical limits of his own immediate delegates. Instead then of four, you will have near four and twenty elections to make, the inconveniency and even impossibility of putting which plan into execution must make every one feel the nature of our present situation, and the kind of ecclesiastical government that is adapted to it. You mistake if you think the obviousness of these

* Trid. Sess. 24. 13.

these inconveniencies will necessarily operate to a consolidation of the different Bishopricks, into the precise extent of our present Vicarages; in short were you to succeed in abolishing our present form of spiritual government, each particular diocese would be at liberty to act as it pleased; you would introduce an ecclesiastical anarchy, without being able to find any effectual means of restoring peace and order.

But to proceed to the arguments you have made use of in favor of that plan of electing Bishops, which you tell us the discipline of the church requires to be adopted; these consist chiefly of quotations from the Fathers and Councils, which form a considerable part of your pamphlet. I shall be as concise as possible in my remarks on them, because I shall just now shew they are all of no consequence to the present business. I cannot however suppress my surprise that so many of your quotations should make against your own system, by shewing that in the ancient church, Bishops were generally appointed by the same persons who consecrated them, namely, by the Bishops and Metropolitan of their respective provinces, and that the People and even the Clergy of the diocese had no right to an active voice in the election of Bishops, but were only called upon to bear testimony to the conduct of the elect, or at most to express how far the object of the Prelates choice was agreeable or disagreeable to them. Certain it is that some instances of popular elections occur in history, but the acquiescence
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of the Bishops on these occasions in the wishes of the people, is no proof of their considering the right of election as vested in them. Your two first citations speak only of the presence of the people, * for the purpose I have mentioned, not of their actual choice. This would have been more plain had you given us the subsequent words of St. Cyprian, where he distinguishes between the *suffrages of the People* and the *judgment of the Bishops*, and this very distinction serves to place your third quotation in its true light. The fourth canon of the first Council of Nice, which you next bring forward, is more expressly against you, if we admit that the second General Council of Nice was competent to explain the meaning of the first. Its words are these. "It is necessary that he who is to be raised to a Bishopric should be chosen by the Bishops, as *is defined in the Nicene Canon.*"

The very same doctrine may be gathered from the eighteenth Canon of the Council of Antioch which you next adduce, and likewise from the Council of Ancyra which you afterwards cite; for it is evident, if it was the general custom for the people in those times to choose their own Bishops, there would be no occasion for Canons to regulate the rank of those Bishops to whom the people of the

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Dioceses

* "Ad ordinationes rite celebrandas Episcopi ejusdem Provincie proximi quique convenient & Episcopus deligatur *Plebe Presente* quæ singulorum vitam Plenissime novit," Cypr. Ep. 68.

Dioceses refused obedience. As to your remark that there is no mention in these canons of the obligation of the people to admit those who were ordained for them, nothing certainly can be less to the purpose; as the question on these occasions was not about the duty of the people, but about the rank of the Bishops. Certainly a right in the Prelates to constitute the pastor of any church, implied an obligation in the people of submitting to such their lawful pastor. Now that the Bishops of the province did enjoy such a right, appears from many passages in councils,* from the practice of the most illustrious and holy men, † and even from the greater part of the passages you have brought forward to prove a quite contrary hypothesis. The same might be inferred from your quotation from Pope Julius, had you fairly translated the passage out of St. Athanasius's Apology, where to constitute the

* See in Partic. Concil. Load. can. 13. 2 Carthag. can. 12. Antioch. 16. The decree of the last quoted is remarkable, and is to this effect, that if a Bishop who is without a See, should enter upon a vacant Bishopric without the consent of the Metropolitan, though the whole body of the people should have elected him for their Bishop, it is necessary he should be deposed.

† See 194 Letter of St. Basil, who having elected in a provincial synod Euphronius to the See of Nicopolis, writes to the people of that city, telling them that the Bishops had executed their charge in giving them a Bishop, and that now it was the duty of the people to receive him. See also Euseb. l. 4. c. 19.

the Bishop of Alexandria, (κατασκευαι) and not barely to *ordain* him, is described as the office of the provincial Bishops.

From the other passages you quote, nothing more, can be collected than that in the choice of a Bishop, great respect was to be paid to the wishes of the people, and that this was one of the rules by which those, who had the right of election, were to be guided in the choice of a Prelate. There is no proof of the church having recognized in any one instance, the right to an active voice in the people on these occasions, or of her having surrendered her original prerogative, which she has exercised at different times by means of different ecclesiastical assemblies, of appointing her chief officers. Even at that period, which you have singled out in the history of the Gallican church, as most favourable to the freedom of ecclesiastical elections, it appears that the Gallican Prelates considered the choice of the people, rather as a matter of favor than of right. This appears from the very passage you refer me to in Fleury * where Hincmar Metropolitan of Rheims, writing to the clergy and people of a vacant diocese, threatens them that if they did not choose a person worthy of the charge to preside over them, he and the other Bishops will not barely reject their choice, (and thus send them back to exercise their right by choosing a more worthy Prelate,) but will *elect another Bishop for them, who it may be will not prove agreeable to them.*

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* Hist. Eccles. l. 53.

In conformity with this claim on the part of the Bishops I find in the Council of Fismes, held at the same time, the election of a Bishop of Beauvais annulled, though made by the joint concurrence of the clergy, people and prince.

It does not appear that the Apostles took the votes of the people when they went about ordaining ministers of the churches they founded, * or that they commissioned their disciples to do so on similar occasions. † St. Clement of Rome says they made it a practice to ordain their first converts in the several cities Bishops of them. Ven. Bede, ‡ tells us, that St. Peter ordained St. Linus to be his successor during his own life time, as St. Augustine of Canterbury did his successor Laurence, as Valerius of Hippo did the great St. Augustine, § whom you very unfortunately cite in favor of your theory, and as St. Augustine himself did his successor Heraclius.

In our English church, from the very time of its foundation till the present day, no one instance occurs of an election conducted in the popular manner you tell us the canons require. The Archbishop of Canterbury, for example, was elected by the Monks of Christchurch, sometimes with and sometimes

* See Iren. l. 3. c. 3.

† See Titus. 1. *Hujus rei gratia reliqui te Cretæ ut ea quæ desunt, corrigas, & constituas per civitates Presbyteros sicut ut ego disposui tibi.*

‡ L. 2. c. 4. Eccles. Hist.

§ See Aug. Ep. 110. where the Saint acknowledges his ordination to have been uncanonical.

times without the Royal Congè d'elire;* but from the days of St. Gregory the Great, it was always requisite that he should be confirmed by the Pope, and receive from him the Pallium as Legate of the holy See. In like manner the cathedral clergy, whether secular or regular, and not the clergy and people at large, elected the Bishops of the other dioceses.

But though I should grant you, Sir, that the discipline of the church was such as you describe it to have been in the early ages, yet as, I presume, you will allow that the church is competent to abrogate and alter her own laws according to the exigencies of the times, hence the question will be, not what the discipline of the church once was, but what it is now. It is certain, that in the appointment of Pastors in general, the inclination of the flock should be consulted as much as possible, and there may have been times when the people of a whole diocese could meet and discuss that point with temper and moderation, but were they indulged in such a liberty at present I think you must agree with me, that the scene to which I am witness at present of a contested county election, would be peace and
order,

* On one or two occasions the Bishops of the province claimed the right of electing the Metropolitan, and a certain number of our best Archbishops were immediately chosen by the Pope himself, such as Theodore, St. Edmund, Stephen Langton, Kilwarby, Peckham. See Godwin de Præfulibus Angliæ.

order, compared with the confusion, the election of a Bishop would occasion; and when the choice was once made, it would probably be such a one as St. Jerom describes; it would fall on the most turbulent and unworthy candidate.* You will perhaps say, it is not your intention that all the Catholics, who are heaving coals on the Thames, or employed in other such occupations should have a vote in the choice of a Bishop. But where, Sir, will you draw the line? *God is not^a respecter of persons*; Act. x.c. 34.⁴ what rules will you determine the right of voters? In like manner, without entering into a controversy, how far the Pope interfered in the election, or confirmation of Bishops, in the western Patriarchate twelve hundred years ago, of which interference however many striking instances might be alledged,† certain it is, that the church at present acknowledges such a right in the Pope, ‡ and considers it as one of her strongest bulwarks against numberless abuses.

But

* “ Non nunquam populus vulgique judicium & in sacerdotibus comprobandis, unusquisque moribus suis favet, ut non tam bonum quam sui similem quærat præpositum.”

† A well known instance of this kind is the consecration of St. Peter Chrysologus to the Archbishopric of Ravenna in 430, then the seat of Imperial Government, by Sixtus III. This Saint happening to accompany the Bishop elect who went to Rome for confirmation, was appointed by the Pope in his place without any further election, and received at Ravenna accordingly.

‡ Trid. Sess. 24. cap. 1. &c.

But after all, Sir, there is no question in our circumstances about the filling up of episcopal Sees, or the appointment of ordinary Bishops: because we are in extraordinary circumstances. We are no national church, we are only a handful of Catholics, saved from the whelming deluge of heresy, by the immediate interposition of the apostolical See, as three times before the inhabitants of this island had been rescued from the same, or a similar calamity, by timely assistance from the same quarter.* We have lost our hierarchy, and should have equally been deprived of the ministry, but for the bounty no less than the pastoral solicitude of the successors of St. Peter. We, the clergy of this kingdom, are not a stationary clergy, but are to a man of us, missionaries, ordained in foreign countries, under the title, as it is called, of the mission, after having been educated, at least the greater part of us, at the expence of his Holiness. I repeat it again, Sir, the question is not, in our circumstances, about appointing ordinary Pastors to vacant Bishoprics, but only about settling a due subordination amongst the immediate delegates of the holy See, which has
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* The Britons were first converted by Eugeuius and Damianus, sent hither by St. Eleutherius, and afterwards were reclaimed from Pelagianism by St. Germanus, sent hither according to Prosper, by Pope Celestin. I need not mention that when our Pagan ancestors, the Saxons, had over run the Island and extirpated Christianity, they were converted by St. Augustine, St. Birinus and other missionaries from Rome,

three several times since the reformation varied the form of our ecclesiastical government, as circumstances seemed to require. You may be displeased with this plain statement of facts, you may join with our worst enemies in calling us emissaries, though we trust we have given as good proofs, of our attachment to our king and country, as any class of Englishmen have done whatever; yet this will not alter the real state of things, which is as I have described it to be, and which must be so, while our numbers are so contemptible, while we are so far under legal proscription, that even, in that plan of favors we have lately been taught to look up to, the most trifling ecclesiastical establishment on our part is cautiously guarded against; and while our poverty or our want of zeal is such, that there is not the most distant hope of our ever being able to replace the bounty of his Holiness, should we force him to withdraw it. You may spurn at this main resource of religion amongst us, if you please, but are you ready, Sir, have you friends ready to provide a foundation equivalent to that which we have for two hundred years enjoyed? I can safely answer in the negative. Take care, Sir, that your boasted zeal to reform religion does not operate, as has frequently been the case, to the utter extinction of religion.

We are not then in the condition of an established church, nor have we the means of being so; but we are in that of a mission in a schismatical country: Now as those missions, which have diffused the light of Christianity over the western world, have almost all of them proceeded from that See, which proves
itself

itself to be *apostolical* by perpetuating the function of the Apostles*, so such missions, wherever they exist at the present day, whether in Holland or in Africa, whether in China or in Canada, are all under the peculiar government and patronage of the supreme Pastor; and so such missions ever have been, as will appear from consulting the History of the Apostles of the North, and that of our own Apostles in particular.

You tell us, Sir, that titular Bishops, without fixed Sees, are an innovation of the twelfth century. In your hypothesis those spoken of in the councils of Antioch and Ancyra above, were mere titular Bishops. Certainly those were so whom Petilian the Donatist mentions by way of reproach to the Catholics in the Collation of Cathage; being ordained for Sees, where they had no people belonging to them. But what is more to the present purpose, I maintain that however new the name may be, the thing itself is as ancient as the practice is of ordaining Bishops for the conversion of infidels. For of what See, give me leave to ask, was St. Augustine Bishop, when he was ordained by Ethe-rius of Arles, in consequence of the orders of St. Gregory? or St. Birinus, ordained in the same manner by Aslerius of Genoa, in virtue of a commission

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* St. Innoc. says, Ep. ad Dec. Eug. " It is manifest that
 " neither in Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, Sicily, nor the
 " neighbouring Islands, has any one established churches,
 " except those whom St. Peter, or his successors, have
 " ordained for this purpose."

from Pope Honorius? or St. Paulinus, when he was sent into the North with Queen Ethelburga by Justus? The same question may be asked in regard to St. Boniface and Willibrord, the former the apostle of Germany, the latter of the low Countries. From whom did they in fact derive their mission, for preaching the Gospel, * their jurisdiction, and their power of administering the sacraments? who settled their rights, claims and differences†? Our Bishops then, whether for distinction sake they receive their titles from Comana or Cæsarea, or whatever other place, are precisely in the situation the above mentioned illustrious Saints and Apostles were, previously to their founding established churches, and converting a due proportion of the people; and though destitute of ordinary faculties, they have the same kind of extraordinary jurisdiction, that St. Augustine and St. Birinus had of old, the same that the missionary Bishops have at this day in every other infidel or heretical country.

Having

* *Quomodo prædicabunt nisi mittantur.* Rom. x. 15.

† See in particular the answer of St. Gregory to the 9th Question of St. Augustine, Bede, lib. 2. c. 27. “*Qua-
liter debemus cum Galliarum & Britanniarum Epif-
copis agere?*” Respondet Gregorius. “*In Galliarum
Episcopos nullam tibi auctoritatem tribuimus, quia
ab antiquis predecessorum meorum temporibus Pal-
lium Arelatensis Episcopus accepit, quem nos privare
auctoritate perceptâ minime debemus—Britanniarum
autem Episcopos omnes tuæ fraternitati committimus
ut indocti doceantur, infirmi persuasione roborentur,
perversi auctoritate corrigantur.*”

Having pointed out the supposed abuses, in the discipline of the Church, on the subject of nominating Bishops, you proceed to reform its ritual, by requiring the Consecration oath to be suppressed, which you insidiously call *an oath of allegiance*, and represent as contrary to the duty we owe to our Sovereign. Were this so, it is strange that the illustrious Gallican Prelates, who met together, about a century ago, in the despotic reign of Louis XIV. for the express purpose of ascertaining the spiritual rights of the Pope and the temporal rights of the Sovereign, should have forgotten the important transaction that took place at the time of their becoming Bishops, and should not have taken measures accordingly. It is still more extraordinary, that, if the Bishops were considered by the Pope as his vassals, he should permit them to take oaths of allegiance to other Sovereigns; as they have done, and that with the Pope's express approbation, at the time the successors of St. Peter were in the very zenith of their power; and that his Holiness should never once, in his most pressing exigencies, have called for the powerful assistance of so many of his sworn subjects, as you describe the Bishops to be, throughout Christendom! The fact is, Sir, you have, by malicious glosses and forced constructions, put a meaning upon the oath, foreign to the sense of Catholics in general, and to that of the Apostolic See in particular, in whose favor it is taken*. Thus you have put
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* See Archbishop Butler's *Justification*, &c. p. 17. where he refers to his own correspondence with the congrega-

arms into the hand of our enemies, and have furnished Government with the most ostensible argument that has yet appeared for denying us further indulgence.

The first and chief question that presents itself is, what kind of obedience the Bishop Elect is called upon to swear to the Head of the Church at his consecration. This will determine, whether it militates with our duty to our Sovereign, and whether it is, in the *usual acceptation* of the word, an oath of allegiance. I answer, it is the same kind of obedience that Bishops in past ages swore to their Metropolitans, and the same kind of obedience, that in the standard of orthodoxy, Pius the fourth's profession of faith, the members of the true Church in general are required to swear to the successor of St. Peter*.

In short the circumstances themselves determine, on this and all similar occasions, the nature of the subjection contained in such engagements. If I swear obedience to a Civil Superior, all the world understands that I bind myself in civil concerns. If it is to a Spiritual Superior, no one will doubt but that my oath relates merely to the affairs of my soul. As to your arguments, that the present consecration oath implies temporal allegiance, because there was
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tion at Rome, for their sense of the oath.—Without knowing my antagonist, I take it for granted, this argument, drawn from the meaning of the propounders of the oath, must have insuperable force.

* I promise true obedience to the Bishop of Rome successor of St. Peter, &c. *Pr. of Pius IV.*

once an oath to that effect, and because after promising obedience to my Spiritual Superior, in a subsequent paragraph I promise not to be guilty of personal violence against him; I own they are beyond my comprehension.

The third article only excludes a breach of confidence repugnant to the feelings of all mankind, and not admitted even in Courts of Public Justice; I presume it may be legally sworn to, since the law even prescribes a similar engagement on the part of servants and apprentices, when they are articulated to their masters.

Nothing but the jaundiced eye of prejudice can see any thing objectionable in the sixth and eighth articles which you next bring forward. I can safely swear, that I will defend my friend, and support and promote his interest, or that I will obey the commands of my officer or other Civil Superior, without implying that I am ready to go on the high-way for that purpose, or to commit any other unjust or immoral action. You say there is no limitation or condition annexed to the obedience here promised: neither is there any salvo in the allegiance I have sworn to his Majesty, either in favor of the British Constitution, or even of the indispensable laws of God. The fact is; it would be an insult, at the time I am paying homage to my Superior, to suppose him capable of stepping out of his proper line, and requiring any thing from me that is unjust or illegal.

If there is no crime in performing the Service expressed in the 11th article, there can be no crime in
a Bishop's

a Bishop's binding himself to perform it. The Service however of itself, in these and similar circumstances, is evidently to be performed only as far as it is exacted.

The only remaining passage you have singled out of this seditious oath, as you represent it, is the battered text of *Hæreticos persequar & impugnabo*. But, Sir, if you have not studied Divinity, I presume you have learned Latin, and ought therefore to know that of all the different meanings the word *persequi* bears, not one of them corresponds with our English word *to persecute*. If you are not much in the habit of reading classical authors, consult your *Ainsworth*; it is confessedly the best dictionary of the kind we have. Had the text run, *persequar ferro & igne*, your objection would be well founded; but then the Church would have been guilty of such an instance of inconsistency and cruelty, in punishing her Pastors for obeying her own precepts, as is nowhere to be met with. This argument has been stated in all its force by that respectable Prelate whose work I have referred to in a note above, who has exhibited an example of loyalty tempered with piety, well worthy our imitation, and who has given to *Cæsar what belong to Cæsar*, without denying to *God what belong to God*. On the same occasion he has exposed the laughable absurdity of representing the Church as obliging her ministers to swear they will first burn their fellow creatures at the stake, and then impugn or attack them with argument, for this is the mean-
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ing of the passage in your and the Bishop of Cloyne's sense of the word *persequi*.

There are many other passages in your pamphlet, consisting as well of facts, dates and quotations, as of positions and inferences, deserving of animadversion, which for brevity's sake I pass over. You conclude with advising the Clergy, on this important crisis, *to banish all human respect*. This, Sir, is the very best passage in your book: if we do that, we shall act right; but let not the laity tempt us to do otherwise. In exchange for the instructions and counsel you have given the Clergy, permit one of that body, in his turn, to give you a little good advice.

Leave, Sir, the discussion of theological matters, and the regulation of Church discipline to those whom Christ has commanded you *to hear on these subjects as himself*, Luke x. 16. and whom the Apostle requires you to *obey as being to give an account to God of your soul*. Heb. xiii. 17. When you consult these your spiritual guides, whether it be upon speculative or practical points, let it be with a view of following, not of leading them; hence let your consultations be held in their oratories and studies, not over your luxurious boards and flowing glasses. Do not require them to demonstrate, that every opinion or practice they may caution you against, would prove the utter extinction of your faith or charity; there are other qualifications of error and immorality, besides those of heresy and grievous sin. It is a sufficient rule of conduct for those docile *sheep*, whom the supreme
Pastor

Pastor speaks of, John x. as *knowing and listening to the voice of their Shepherd*, to hear him crying out,

Parcite oves, nimum procedere——

Fugite hinc, latet anguis in herba.

If you are conscientiously persuaded, that your immediate Pastors are misleading you, appeal to a higher power in the same divinely constituted hierarchy; but do not on the strength of your own opinion, exclaim that you know better than they do whom God himself has appointed to guide you; such conduct as this must destroy all subordination and peace in every Constitution, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil. In quality of a member of the Universal Church, as you must bow to the supremacy of your head, so you must cherish the communion of your fellow members, and respect their religious belief; remembering that they collectively cannot go astray, though you individually, or even as the member of a provincial Church, may lose the right road. At the same time, however, cautiously guard against the contagion of a neighbouring nation, which this has been always too much inclined to imitate; a nation which destitute, in a great measure, of Christianity, is now reforming the Church, and which in particular, has just now so far improved your plan, as to have extended to the professed enemies of the Church that interference, in the choice of her Pastors, it denies to her acknowledged head.

The mention of this subject reminds me to say a few words more on the matter in question between us, by way of enquiry into the necessity and expediency of those violent and dangerous measures you propose

propose. What grievances have we to complain of at the present moment, in the exercise of that power which, unless Providence should graciously and unexpectedly alter our present situation, is necessarily lodged in the hands of the Chief Pastor? Has he attempted any usurpation on our rights or property by means of his representatives? Has he sent us Italians or other foreigners, ignorant of our manners and language, to preside over us? Has he lately, or formerly, made choice of improper and unworthy Vicars? So far from that, I will venture to say, that no Portion of the Church whatever can boast a succession of more worthy and more truly apostolical Bishops than this kingdom has been blessed with since the Episcopal form of Government, in the reign of James I. was revived amongst us. The very names of a Bishop, a Smith, a Leybourn, a Giffard, a Petre, a Challoner and a Talbot *, to confine myself to the Prelates of our own district form

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* I cannot pass over this opportunity of paying the due tribute to the zeal, piety, charity, and, above all, to the humility of our late lamented Pastor: a man who, born to the first distinctions of the world, proved, by his conduct, that he counted all things as dirt that he might gain Christ: Philip. iii. For who ever, from the gentleman down to the beggar, was made to feel, in his company, that he was conversing with the Brother of the first English Earl? a man, in short, whose chief fault is supposed to have been an unbounded and profuse charity to the poor, while it was notorious he denied himself the common decencies of life.

His saltem accumulem donis, & fungar inani Munere,

their respective panegyrics and serve to confute that shameful charge against them, where, comparing them with Gregory the usurper of St. Athanasius's See, you represent them as *strangers* and *men unknown* amongst the faithful entrusted to their care.

It is true, you tell us, " that the present mode of nominating Bishops is one of the chief causes of the nation's prejudice against us." It will not be your fault, Sir, if it does not become so; but hitherto they have been satisfied, provided our necessary dependance on the See of Rome was confined to matters of a spiritual nature. Give me leave, at the same time, to tell you, Sir, that there is nothing in our ancient spiritual subjection either so odious or so alarming to Government as that new spirit of intrigue and party which many Catholics have of late years discovered, or that will so powerfully operate to prevent the extension of our privileges. Our Rulers are more displeased at the union of some of our writers with the Dissenters to undermine all Church establishments whatever, than with all that has ever been written in defence of the Pope's spiritual jurisdiction: and I will venture to say, that if your Piece and mine should ever reach the Public at large, which I hope they neither of them will, they will be much less offended with my arguments to preserve the Sovereign Pontiff's right of nominating Vicars among the Catholic Clergy, than with your levelling principles, which give them to understand that there is neither an Archbishop nor a Bishop of the Established Church in England or Ireland, who has a canonical

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and rightful claim to his See, because he has not been chosen, like the Knight of a Shire, by a plurality of the votes of the Clergy and People. Whatever other differences the established Church may have with us, it has none on this subject, nor is there any argument you have made use of to induce the Catholics of the Western and Middle Districts to proceed to a new choice of Bishops, in defiance of the authority of their present irreproachable and exemplary Prelates, which will not equally apply (if they have any prospect of success) to the people of every Protestant Diocese in this and the neighbouring island.

I am, SIR,

Yours, &c.

Winchester,
July 1, 1790.

John Milner.



INSTRUCTIONS AND REGULATIONS

For the LENT of 1805.



TO ALL THE FAITHFUL OF THE MIDLAND DISTRICT.

Then Jesus was led by the spirit into the desert to be tempted by the devil. And when he had fasted forty days and forty nights afterwards he was hungry. St. Matt. iv. 1, 2.

DEARLY BELOVED CHILDREN IN JESUS CHRIST,

WE are now again, through the Divine mercy and forbearance in our regard, approaching to the great annual fast of Lent: the very name of which is grating and painful to the ears of tepid and sensual Christians, whilst it is soothing and sweet to those of the fervent and devout: because these *days of penance*, as the Church proclaims, *are the season for redeeming our sins and for saving our souls* *.

The necessity and advantages of fasting are too clearly demonstrated by the testimony of the inspired writers and by the example of all the saints, and even of the Saint of saints, our Divine Redeemer Jesus Christ, as we see in the above quoted text, to stand in need of any further proof. Indeed thus far is admitted, without dispute, by our misguided brethren of another communion in their liturgy and doctrinal expositions †, however much fasting is overlooked by them in practice. But observe, Dear Christians, and engrave deep in your minds that it is not to every kind of fasting the commendations and promises of Holy Writ belong. The prophet Isaias introduces the people of God thus complaining to him: *Why have we fasted and thou hast not regarded it* ‡? And our Saviour, in the Gospel, every where represents the fasts of the Pharisees, though most rigorously performed and very frequently repeated, as an abomination to his Heavenly Father. Nor are we left in ignorance as to the cause of this. *Behold*, says the above mentioned prophet, *on the day of your fast, you are found doing your own will. You fast for debates and strife &c. Is this such a fast as I have chosen* §? On the other hand the Pharisees, not being sensible of any guilt they had to do penance for, are described as fasting from custom, pride and ostentation: in both instances the want of proper interior dispositions deprived the exterior mortification of the merit and efficacy it other-

* Antiph. Eccl.

† Books of Common Prayer and of Homilies.

‡ Is. lviii. 3.

§ Ibid. ver. 3, 4.

wise would have had. What these dispositions are, is clearly expressed by the Lord himself in that passage of the prophet Joel in which he describes the kind of fast that is acceptable to him: *Be converted to me*, says he, *with your whole hearts in fasting, in weeping, and in mourning* *. This implies a thorough conviction of the malice of sin, of our own guiltiness through it, a perfect conversion of the heart from sin to God, and a willingness to perform such works of penance as may satisfy for the temporal punishment due to it.

But where are these happy dispositions to be found? By what means shall we obtain this true conversion of the heart, on which the whole merit of our fast must depend? How even shall we become acquainted with the true state of our souls and the extent of the duties which God requires at our hands? For this purpose, Beloved Children in Jesus Christ, we can do nothing more effectual than to imitate our Divine Master and model, not only in the fast itself which he performs, but also in the principal circumstance of it. In fact we observe, that, on the occasion in question, he withdrew himself from the conversation and company of men; he retires into a lonely desert; there he offers up that most holy and acceptable fast for us, which he did not stand in need for himself: there he gains a compleat victory, not only over the temptations of sensuality, but also over those of avarice and pride, with which, for our example and benefit also, he permitted the devil to assault him. It may not be in our power, Dear Christians, thus absolutely to withdraw ourselves from the commerce of the world during this time of our fast; but nothing can hinder us, if we are disposed to do so, from shutting the world out of our hearts, and from making a solitude in the interior of our souls, where, like Magdalen, we may entertain ourselves with Jesus on the *one thing necessary*, and bewail our past forgetfulness of it and our grievous sins.

But to form this resolution of shutting the world out of our hearts, it is necessary we should be well convinced beforehand of its wickedness and manifold dangers. Let us then, in the first place, attend to the maxims of our Blessed Master and his inspired Apostles on this subject, as they are recorded in the New Testament. We cannot help being struck with the peculiar energy of the language in which they are delivered, and the frequent repetition of them. *Wo to the world on account of scandals*, cries out Jesus Christ †: thereby intimating that the chief cause of the propagation of sin and of the loss of souls is this wicked and seducing world. *The world hates me*, he elsewhere declares, *because I bear testimony of it that its works are evil* ‡. And addressing himself to his disciples he thus admonishes them: *If you had been of the world, the world would love its own, but because you are not of the world, therefore does the world hate you* §. *Be not conformable to this world*, says the

* Joel ii. 12. † Matt. xviii. 7. ‡ John vii. 7. § John xv. 19.

great Doctor of the Gentiles*; for, as he elsewhere teaches: *We have not received the spirit of this world, but the spirit which is of God* †. Do not you know, exclaims St. James, *that the friendship of this world is the enmity of God?* *Whoever therefore will become the friend of this world, becomes the enemy of God* ‡. Finally, the beloved Disciple assures us, that: *The whole world is placed in iniquity* §, and that: *Whatever is in the world is the concupiscence of the flesh, the concupiscence of the eyes, and the pride of life* ||. Hence he joins in the sentiment of St. James: *If any one love the world, the charity of the Father is not in him* ¶. Such are the awful admonitions contained in the word of God, with reference to the wickedness and dangers of the world. And lest, perhaps, we should mistake what is meant by that *world* that is here spoken of, we are, in other still more striking passages, assured that: *the way to destruction is broad, and that many walk therein*; whilst that which *leads to life, is exceedingly narrow, and that few find it* **: in a word, that even of the *many who are called, a few only are chosen*. Hence, Beloved Children in Jesus Christ, we must necessarily conclude that the world, which we are so emphatically warned against in Holy Scripture, does not barely consist of professed infidels, libertines and other notorious sinners; but also of the great collection of persons of different ages, sexes, ranks, conditions, and even religions, and that, of course, if *our justice does not exceed that* of what is called the decent, honest and virtuous world, our future lot will not be different from that of the great number of our fellow mortals.

But to convince ourselves still further of the necessity there is of arming ourselves against the world, as the most dangerous of all our spiritual enemies; let us call to mind the many persons we have known or heard of who, entering into life with the greatest purity of heart and the best dispositions imaginable, have sacrificed their virtue and morality, and perhaps also their religion; to the allurements, the persecution, or the example of their deluded fellow mortals. Let us call to mind the many occasions on which perhaps we ourselves have fallen into the abyss of sin, not from the pleasure or advantage that sin itself held out to us, but from the overpowering influence of the practices and opinions of those with whom we kept company. Let us moreover, slightly, but impartially survey, in a few instances, what the prevailing spirit, the maxims, the practices and the amusements are of this deluded, and deluding world.

The prevailing *spirit* of the world then, in the present age, is evidently that of irreligion and infidelity. We have witnessed the incredible progress and the dismal effects of this spirit upon the morals, the feelings, the civil institutions, and the comforts of mankind in this

* Rom. xii. 2.

† James iv. 4.

|| Ibid. 16.

** Matt. vii. 13, 14.

† 1 Cor. ii. 12.

§ 1 John v. 19.

¶ Ibid.

world, no less than upon their religion, that is to say, upon the grounds of their future hopes, throughout the greater part of the Christian Continent. And if, by the superintending care and dispensations of Providence, this spirit has not occasioned the same temporal calamities in our own country, yet it has evidently removed the corner stone of Christianity, the belief in the Divinity of its gracious Founder, together with all its other essential mysteries from amongst the different sects of Christians, and has introduced a proportionable relaxation in their morals. The same irreligious contagion having been communicated, in a certain degree, to our little flock, the inheritors of *the faith once delivered to the saints* *, it has, in a great measure, extinguished that ardent zeal and piety for which our fathers were so conspicuous. It has caused the life-giving sacraments to be neglected, the ordinances of the Church to be trampled upon; her divine authority to be questioned; and a latitudinarian spirit, to appear in some, which tends to amalgamize all religions, and which is the too evident sign of approaching infidelity. Amongst the *maxims* of the world (to specify one that particularly regards the present military age) is it not an established point, that no man is worthy to defend his country, or even to hold a place in society, who is not, at all times, disposed, indifferently to commit, or to suffer murder, and thereby, either to plunge a fellow creature, or to rush himself, into that *fire which shall never be extinguished* †, in revenge for the slightest affront? And yet, O wonderful contradiction! we all profess to be disciples of a master who, *when we are struck on one cheek, commands us to turn the other* ‡, and who died upon a cross praying forgiveness for the wretches that were torturing and insulting him! Amongst the *practices* of the world (to speak now of the other sex) has not a fashion of dress for a long time prevailed amongst the persons of it, utterly subversive of that modesty which is their brightest ornament, and which, by the innumerable interior sins it causes, draws down upon them the heavy *WO* that Christ has denounced against all those *by whom scandal cometh* §? Finally, how dissipating, dangerous, expensive and ruinous, to fortunes as well as to souls, are many of the amusements of the present day! How universal, in particular, is the passion for theatrical entertainments! and how fatal are the effects of them upon the general morals of the community, no less than upon the consciences of very many innocent and virtuous individuals! Again, how pertinaciously are these defended, as free from all moral danger; in spite of reason and experience to the contrary; and in opposition to the concurring testimony of the holy Fathers and of the Doctors of the Church in modern, as well as in ancient times, who term them the *ruin of virtue and morality and the very pest of souls* ||! I

* Jude v. 3. † Mark ix. 43. ‡ Matt. ix. 39. § Matt. xviii. 7.

|| De Civit. Dei, L. 1. c. 33.—The same St, Augustine, lamenting the dis-

cannot quit this subject without making the following observations: if such amusements are at all times so full of danger, and so much to be discouraged by zealous pastors and other friends of our eternal welfare, how utterly inconsistent and irreconcilable must they be with the spirit of a penitential fast! And how justly may that striking address of St. Augustine to his Catechumens be applied to too many a pretended penitent of the present times!—"You expose and betray yourself, O Christian, when you profess one thing and act another: now running to the church, in order to offer up your prayers, and a little time afterwards joining in the clamours of the players at the theatre! What have you to do with the pomps of Satan which you renounced at your baptism *?"—No doubt, in *bearing this testimony*, with our Divine Master, *against the world that its works are evil* †, we may expect to incur the censure and the ridicule of the lovers of it. But no matter: we thereby *deliver our own souls*, to make use of the expression of the prophet ‡. We do what lies in us to save the souls of those for *which we are to render an account of to God*; and we rest in an assured confidence that those, who impugn these gospel lessons at present, will, at a day not far distant, when all we who now live shall meet together in eternity, join with us in proclaiming them.

From these reflections on the necessity of guarding our own souls against the dangers of the world, you will clearly see the obligation we lie under of double arming, if this be in our power, the souls of those young persons whom God has entrusted to our care against the same; considering the liveliness of their passions and the susceptibility of their minds, to receive impressions, whether evil or good. It has been owing to the retired as well as the pious course of life in which the Catholic youth of both sexes were heretofore educated, at a distance from the bad example and other seductions of the world, that they were enabled to endure two centuries of religious persecution and to prove the *good odour of Christ* § throughout the Church, for the firmness of their faith and the exemplarity of their lives. From the same reflections you will clearly comprehend the special reason there is for withdrawing your minds from the world as much as you can during the approaching holy season, in order to obtain that compunction of heart and

orders of his life before his conversion, says: "I was hurried away by the exhibitions of the theatre, which abounded with the representations of my own misery and the incentives of my interior flames." Confess. L. iii. c. 2.—"In these exhibitions," says St. Cyprian, "the spectator learns to do what he is accustomed to see." Ep ad Don—"The effeminate actor, whilst he feigns love, implants it in his hearers," Min. Felix.

* De Symb. ad Catech.

† John vii.

‡ Ezech. iii. 19, &c.

§ 2 Cor. xii. 15.

those other dispositions which are necessary to sanctify your fast. "In silence and quiet," says the enlightened à Kempis, "the soul becomes devout, and learns the hidden things of Scripture. There she finds floods of tears with which she, every night, washes and purifies herself, that she may so much the nearer approach to her Creator by how much the further she withdraws herself from worldly concerns.*"

On the other hand be exact, Beloved Children, in observing the rules of the exterior fast; and, if your health or other circumstances require any further dispensations than those general ones set down below, which the necessities of the times and the dearness of provisions seem to require, take care to obtain them from those pastors of the Church who alone have authority to grant them, and be anxious to supply the deficiency in your penitential course with other equivalent mortifications, and particularly with more abundant acts of charity to the poor and the afflicted. When the valiant Urias was advised by King David to consult his ease and comfort, at a time when his companions in arms were engaged in a painful warfare, he made answer: *The ark of God, and Israel and Juda dwell in tents . . . and shall I go into my house to eat and to drink By the welfare of thy soul I will not do this thing* †. Do you, Christians, in the circumstances above mentioned, copy the sentiments of this generous warrior, and say to yourselves: "The Church of God throughout the world is now engaged in a course of meritorious penance, and my fellow Christians are every where gaining crowns of grace and future glory: shall I then suffer nothing in satisfaction for my numerous sins? Shall I do nothing to partake of the general blessings of this holy season?—Far be this from me!"

The following Dispensations are granted during the present LENT.

I. Flesh-meat is allowed on all Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays, beginning with the first Sunday in Lent, and ending with the Thursday before Palm-Sunday; but on Tuesdays and Thursdays, this allowance is only for once in the day.

II. Eggs are allowed on all days, except Ash-Wednesday and the four last days in Holy Week.

III. Cheese is allowed on all days, except Ash-Wednesday and Good-Friday.

✠ JOANNES CASTAB. V. A. M. D.

Wolverhampton, Feb. 1, 1805.

* Following of Christ, L. 1. c. 20.

† 2 Kings xi. 11.

N. B. As Wednesday the 20th day of the present month of February is appointed to be observed by our Brethren of other communions as a day of Fasting and Humiliation, we exhort all our Pastors, who have the care of congregations, to offer upon that day the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass under the title of *Missa pro Tempore Belli*, with the Psalm *Miserere* and *Exaudi*, and also the *Prayer for the King*, in order to draw down the Divine protection and blessing on his Majesty and the nation in general, and we exhort all the faithful who possibly can to assist at the said service.

By Andrew

St. J. W. H. A.

Wm. H. White
Thos. J. W. H. A.

THE
SUBSTANCE
OF
A SERMON,

PREACHED AT THE BLESSING

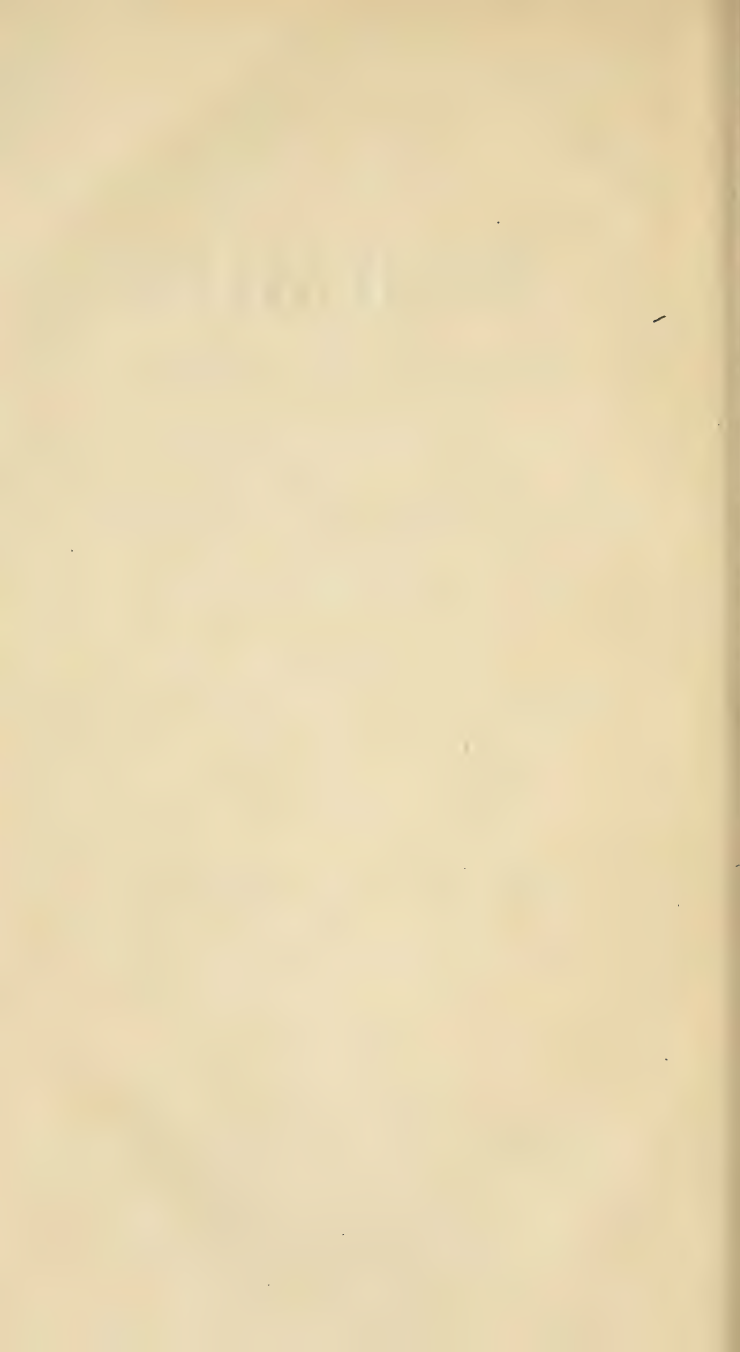
OF THE
CATHOLIC CHAPEL of St. CHAD,

IN THE
Town of Birmingham,

ON SUNDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1809.

BY THE
RIGHT REV. DR. MILNER,
BISHOP OF CASTABALA IN CILICIA, V. A. F. S. A. &c.

BIRMINGHAM ;
PRINTED AND SOLD BY C. WILKS, NEW STREET.
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SQUARE ; J. BOOKER, NEW BOND STREET ; AND G. WILKIE
AND J. ROBINSON, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON ;
T. SIMPSON, WOLVERHAMPTON ; H. FITZPATRICK,
CAPEL STREET, DUBLIN, &c. &c.



The Substance of a Sermon, &c.

I have heard thy prayer, and I have chosen this place for myself as a house of sacrifice.—My eyes shall be open and my ears shall be attentive to the prayer of him who shall pray in this place. 2 Chron. c. vii. v. 12. 15.

SUCH, dear brethren, was the revelation which the Almighty was pleased to make to the king and prophet Solomon, in answer to his prayer, at the dedication of the temple of Jerusalem. In this the Almighty approves of the payment of religious worship to him in general, and of the payment of social worship, and of a revealed form of worship in particular. Speaking, as I now do, in the hearing of a promiscuous multitude of persons, several of whom, in all probability, do not profess to

practice or entertain any species of religion whatsoever, I think it necessary, in the first place, briefly to establish the three points here intimated ; namely, the obligation of paying a distinct worship to our Creator, the duty of paying this at stated times and places, and the duty of paying it according to the forms and ordinances which God himself has supernaturally prescribed to us. And, whereas, it is certain that a large proportion of this audience, whilst they profess to believe both in natural and revealed religion, are nevertheless unfortunately divided into an endless variety of discordant communions ; I trust, in the second place, that I shall be able to point out a plain and easy rule by which these divisions may be effectually healed, and the truth of revelation upon each point of controversy be clearly discovered, by every well meaning individual possessed of common sense. In imparting this benefit to the different christian societies in question, I shall perform an act of justice to one of them in particular, the most injured and calumniated of them all ; I mean that for whose religious worship this chapel is now opened and blessed. And, lastly, as no creed or form of religion whatsoever can, of itself, render us acceptable to Almighty God, and secure our future happiness, I owe it to my catholic brethren, in a

special manner, to remind them of the conditions which are requisite for the purposes in question. The plan of my discourse, dear brethren, is indeed very extensive ; but I have not been able, for the reasons which I have intimated, to contract it. May he, the uncreated Truth, whose word I now profess to deliver, purify my lips with a burning coal from his altar, as he did those of his prophet Isaiah,* that I may announce the same without any alloy of self-love or other human passion : and may he open your ears to hear this divine word to your present spiritual benefit and your future eternal happiness !

1. If you can for a few minutes, irreligious worldling, turn your mind from trifling concerns of little moment to yourself to one of the utmost consequence, and which immediately relates to your own welfare, let me exhort you to question yourself in some such manner as the following : “How came I here ? The world had existed some thousands of years, and I had no being in it. Who drew me out of the abyss of nothing and bestowed upon me this excellent body, this capacious mind ? I am deeply conscious that I could not give a being to myself ; and when I enquire of the objects

* Isaiah, c. vi. v. 6.

which surround me on the earth, and of the vast bodies which roll over my head in the heavens, each of them exclaim to me, in the language of St. Augustine : *It was not I that made thee : we are all equally the workmanship of an eternal, omnipotent, and infinitely benevolent being.*" What heart, impressed with these truths, can avoid paying a constant and explicit homage, in acts of humility, thanksgiving, and love, to this its beneficent Creator, its God ? And yet there always have been, and there are now, in greater numbers than heretofore, men who ridicule the expression of these noble sentiments, that is to say, the exercise even of natural religion, as superstition and a degradation of our nature ; whereas, in real truth, it is our intercourse with the Deity, that is to say, religion which ennobles our nature and constitutes its final cause of existence. Without religion, how little superior is man to the beasts of the field ! They eat, and drink, and play, and propagate their species to do the same after them : and for what more than this does man exist, if he does not serve his God and provide for a happiness hereafter, which he finds is not to be enjoyed here on earth. The truth however is, that (after all the vain boasting of irreligious sophists, amidst their convivial mirth and their profligate associates,)

when reduced to solitude and surrounded with the gloom of midnight, but most of all, when stretched upon a bed of sickness, with the king of terrors, death, staring them in the face, their heart is found to belie the blasphemy of their tongue, and they tremble for the consequences, in a future state, of the unprofitable and useless life they have led.

Admitting, however, the obligations of worshipping my Creator, these men will sometimes say: "what necessity is there of my being shut up in a particular building, or of my joining with other people in the performance of it? Is not the whole universe the temple of the Deity? And is not the homage of a sincere heart more acceptable to him than any exterior rites or forms whatsoever?" It is true the immensity of God *fills the heavens and the earth*, as he himself declares.* It is true, he requires to be *worshipped in spirit and in truth*, as our Divine Saviour expressly tells us.† Nevertheless in the very passages of scripture here quoted, and in many others, (one of which I have chosen for my text) the Almighty is pleased to sanction and appoint social and public worship to be offered up to him in certain places appropriated to this purpose.

* Jeremiah, c. xxiii. v. 24. † John, c. vi. v. 23.

Accordingly I find the Holy Patriarchs, from the beginning of the world, worshipping God in an exterior and public manner, and dedicating certain places and things to the honour of his Divine Majesty. I afterwards find the great legislator of God's people constructing an ark and a tabernacle of the most costly materials for the public exercise of their religion, according to express revelations made to him concerning these matters. And lastly, I behold the inspired Solomon, exhausting his royal treasures in building and ornamenting a house, which the Almighty deigns to choose as *a house of sacrifice* for himself, and dedicating it with the utmost pomp and solemnity of religion. The fact is, he who *knoweth what is in man** foresaw that, unless we are reminded, at stated times, of the duty which we owe to him, and unless we are excited by the example of our fellow creatures, by the pomp and solemnity of the worship itself, and by other exterior means, we should either totally neglect this worship, or we should comply with it in the most tepid and unworthy manner. I must add, that the disciples of Christ have not been behind hand with the ancient people of God in the solemnity and splendour of their religious worship, or mag-

* John, c. ii. v. 25:

nificence of the churches which they built for the performance of it. Our catholic ancestors, in particular, filled this land with the richest and most beautiful edifices for the service of religion, a small part of which are still to be seen. On these and their appurtenances they lavished their wealth, being content with comparative homely habitations, furniture, and fare for their own use.

Nor was it only a social and an orderly, but it was also a revealed form of worship and religion which the Almighty required of his people. We know that the worship to which the temple, blessed by God, was appropriated, consisted in sacrifice and other acts of religion, minutely described, and especially appointed by his inspired servant Moses. The truth is that, after the Patriarchal age, mankind had every where fallen into such blindness and depravity, that the very doctrines and practices of their religion itself teemed with the grossest impiety and wickedness of various kinds. Hence there was a necessity of a special revelation to bring men back to the first elements of truth, morality, and real religion. What absurd, impious, and indecent tales make up the mythology, not only of the barbarous pagans of ancient and modern times, but also of the polished

pagans of Egypt, Greece, and Rome! What detestable acts of impurity, injustice, intemperance, even murder formed part of their religious rites! Let it suffice to state, that the original inhabitants of this island, as we learn from unquestionable authority,* were in the habit of sacrificing whole hecatombs of their unoffending fellow creatures, whom they inclosed in wicker fences and consumed altogether; and that our immediate ancestors the Saxons were so savage and so brutal that they could form no higher idea of supreme bliss in a future state, than that of drinking inebriating liquor out of the skulls of their slaughtered enemies. Such were our ancestors; such should we have been but for the blessed light of the gospel, which, through the mercy of God, was communicated to this Island, by the Holy Pope, Gregory the Great, at the end of the sixth century, by means of his envoys St. Augustine, and his companions. These beneficent missionaries from Rome converted, and at the same time civilized our barbarous forefathers. They withdrew them from their savage rites, and instructed them in the sublime and beneficent religion of Jesus Christ; and they taught them the useful and ornamental arts of life: thus contributing to their comfort in this world, as well as to their happiness in the world to come.

* Cæsar. De Bell. Gal.

2. Thus far the controversy has been with the enemies of revelation; but when I come to address the advocates of it, I mean christians at large, what a melancholy scene presents itself to my view in the endless variety of discordant sects into which they are divided, and the contradictory systems of religion which a great proportion of them hold! And yet it would be blasphemy to assert that the divine founder of christianity has left it destitute of a rule and a guide to conduct his followers into truth and unity. The cause then of these unhappy divisions among christians is that they either take up with a religious system without any rule or reason at all; or else they adopt an erroneous rule, which leads them still further from the truth than if they had no rule at all. Many choose their religion as they choose their clothes, from mere fancy. Still more adhere to the religion of their family, because it is that of their family; which motive, if it were a reasonable one, ought to have determined our pagan ancestors to persevere in the horrid rites of Thor and Woden still. It is an evident fact, however, that far the greater part of professing christians follow that system, which best agrees with their worldly interest and reputation, being comparatively indifferent about their eternal interest. Among christians

who profess to be guided by religious motives alone in this all-important concern of religion, I find that one or other of the three following rules has been adopted; a special private revelation; the bible as interpreted by each man for himself; and the word of God, whether written or unwritten, as delivered and explained by the Church of God. It is incumbent upon me, conformably with the plan I have laid down, to shew which of these rules are defective and erroneous, and which of them is exclusively safe and true. In affording this assistance to the several classes of christians now before me, I shall render an act of justice to the most injured and calumniated description of them, that to which I myself have the happiness of belonging, that for whose religious worship this building has just been consecrated. I trust I shall be able to prove that catholics, so far from being those blind and bigoted partisans which they are generally supposed to be, follow the only rational rule of faith that ever was proposed, and the only one that can heal the divisions of the christian world. But before I enter upon this important investigation, I think it necessary to make two observations. The first is, that there can only be one true religion. God forbid, my christian brethren of different communions, that I should

judge or condemn any individual amongst you, either as to the present state of his soul, or its future lot. God alone is *the searcher of hearts*. He may see in many of those whom he leaves in speculative error that earnest desire of knowing his truths, and that firm resolution of embracing them, in spite of all worldly motives to the contrary, which will certainly atone for all such errors at his equitable tribunal. Nevertheless, I again assert that there can only be one true system of christian revelation among the many which are found in this age and country. Christ, the eternal truth, could not say the *yea* and the *nay* upon the same subject: he could not contradict himself in the way that many of the communions in question contradict each other. There is no quality of his disciples which he insists upon more frequently or more energetically than upon their unity; and he expressly assures us that he shall collect the whole flock which belongs to him in *one sheepfold under one shepherd*.* I am well aware, my dear brethren, that to hold this language is not the method to gain public applause, or to establish a character amongst the oracles of public opinion for superior lights, liberality, and I know not what. But in the situation which I now hold it is evidently my duty to

* John, c. x. v. 16.

consult your interest rather than your prejudices, and to hold that language to you which you will approve of when we shall again meet together before the tribunal of the Great Judge, rather than that which you may be disposed to applaud at the present day. The second preliminary remark which I am desirous of making is, that if, after all, we cannot agree in faith and religion, we are, by the confession of all parties, bound to unite in the affection and services of christian charity. Upon the indispensable obligation of this favourite virtue of our common master, there is happily no question at all. In fact, my dear brother or sister, whoever you are, should it appear that you have fallen into dangerous errors in the all-important affair of religion, does not common humanity no less than christian charity point you out as a proper object of my compassion and charity, rather than of my hatred? And, if I should appear in your eyes to have sunk into rank idolatry, am not I evidently an object of still greater compassion to you?

At the first breaking out of those unhappy dissensions in religion which have convulsed the christian world during almost three centuries, a considerable portion of the reformers, so called, appealed to the first of the above-

mentioned rules, that of a special revelation, and professed to be immediately guided by the Spirit of God in their religious opinions and conduct. The same rule has been followed by different denominations of protestants down to the present day. Now it is the truth and reasonableness of this rule which I have to enquire into at present. A rapid glance at the doctrine and conduct of the principal sects which have adopted this rule will, I am confident, my dear brethren, settle this point to your entire conviction, provided you only agree with me in the following received axiom ; namely, *That cannot be the rule of truth which is found to conduct to error.*

The first pretenders to the rule of private revelation, since the period in question, were the original anabaptists of Germany and the low countries. In the year 1525 an immense multitude of them with Munzer at their head, “ declared war against all laws, government, and magistrates, under the pretext that Christ was now to take the reins of civil and ecclesiastical government into his own hands and to rule alone over all nations.”* The consequence of this enthusiastic principle, as might be imagined, was that myriads of them and their opposers

* Mosheim's Eccles. Hist, by Maclaine, vol. 4. p. 447.

fell by mutual slaughter. One of them however, who had escaped slaughter, John, a tailor, of Leyden, got possession of the city of Munster, in which he professed to establish *a new Jerusalem*, and caused himself to be crowned king of Sion.* He then declared that God had made him a present, in a vision, of Amsterdam and two other cities; and he sent some of his apostles to take possession of them.† He proceeded to marry eleven wives at the same time,‡ and caused the other young women of Munster to be violated.§ All this was done in consequence of a supposed revelation. The first anabaptists in general taught that all the riches of the earth belonged to the righteous, and of course to themselves.¶ One of them, Harman, ran about exclaiming, “repent, repent; kill the priests; kill the magistrates, &c.”|| Mathison professed to be Henoc. David George, who set up a new sect, claimed to be the Messiah, and rejected the present bible. I am far from attributing these, and a thousand other excesses and impieties of the same nature, to those who are called anabaptists at the present day: I know they abhor them. I am barely shewing from indis-

* Hist. Abreg. de la Reform, des Pays Bas, par Ger. Brandt, tom. 1. L. 2.—

† Ibid.—‡ Mosheim's Eccles. Hist, vol. 4. p. 452.—§ Ger Brandt.—

¶ Ibid.—|| Ibid.

putable facts of history, what folly and wickedness the pretence of taking private revelation as the rule of faith and morals is capable of hurrying men into. Henry Nicholas, who had been the friend of David George, and who himself became the founder of a new religion, called, *the family of love*, which had a prodigious run in England as well as in Holland, professed to be a deified man and greater than Jesus Christ.* He neither spoke nor acted but by the supposed movement of the Spirit of God. In such like blasphemies he was emulated by our enthusiastic countrymen, Hacket, Thacker, Copping, and several others, who suffered death for the same. For it is a certain fact, though little known, that our first protestant princes and prelates were in the constant habit of putting to death, merely for their religious opinions and practises, not only catholics, but also protestants whose religion materially differed from their own. One of the last of these protestant sufferers was Edward Wightman, a native of Burton-on-Trent, who was burnt to death for socinianism, during the reign of James I. in the neighbouring city of Lichfield, through the means of Neile, its then bishop.† In the reign of Charles I.

* Ger. Brandt, Liv. 18.—† Neal's Hist. of Purit. vol. 2. p. 92. Collyer's Eccles. Hist. &c.

the society of friends arose, who proposed to be guided in all their religious opinions and actions by a special movement of the Holy Spirit. The peaceable and orderly behaviour of this society is at the present day proverbial: but it cannot be denied that many of them, at their first appearance, were guilty of great extravagancies, and this precisely from an idea that they were inspired to commit them. George Fox himself and his first disciples were in the habit of insulting the clergy in their pulpits, the magistrates on their benches, and even princes on their thrones.* Some of his followers, of each sex, disregarding common modesty, appeared naked in the most public places.† Others were guilty of acts of violence; among whom one ran to the parliament exclaiming that he was inspired to kill every man that sat there.‡ Others, again, were guilty of the most horrid impieties and blasphemies.§ Far be it from me to impute these follies and crimes to the society itself, even at the time when it happened. I know there may be foolish and wicked members of every communion: but my charge is that the

* W. Penn's folio Life of G. Fox, p. 56. 225. &c.—† A female went, in the state of nature, into Whitehall chapel, when Cromwell was there. Neal's Hist. vol. 4. p. 154. "W. Simpson was moved of the Lord to go several times, for three years, naked into market-courts, &c." Penn, p. 239.—‡ Masin's vol. 5. p. 470. Neal. Penn.—§ Mosheim, vol. 5. p. 470. Neal.

follies and impieties under consideration grew out of the leading maxim of the society and could not be restrained consistently with the maxim. The only remedy that George Fox could devise to correct them was to turn them into ridicule by terming the authors of them *fanatics*.* But does any one candid person question whether James Naylor, for example, who personated our Saviour and encouraged his followers to hail him *thrice holy*, and as the *only begotten Son of God*, was not as deeply persuaded of his being under the direction of God's Spirit as his master George Fox himself was on any occasion whatsoever? Muggleton, the founder of a sect which bore his name, was persuaded by this same supposed *special spirit*, that he and his companion, John Reeves, were the two witnesses mentioned in the revelations, Henoch and Elisha, and that he himself was appointed chief judge to pronounce a sentence of damnation on men which God himself could not remit.† Deluded by the same imaginary spirit, Count Zinzendorf taught his followers, the Moravians, amongst other tenets which will not bear repeating, that they are not bound by the laws of morality, and that what would be

* Penn. —† Neal, vol. 4. p. 4.

a sin in other persons, is no sinⁱⁿ them.* The first founder of the religionists, who now cover the face of the land, together with the enthusiastic principle of a sudden illapse or inspiration of God's spirit, by which the predestinate receive faith and an assurance of their justification, imbibed also from the *moravians*† a large portion of their antinomian doctrine which implies a freedom from the obligation of all laws whether human or divine. Mr. Wesley's eminent disciple and destined successor bitterly laments that very many of his followers; "whilst they spoke in the most confident manner of their interest in Christ's complete salvation, were found living in the greatest immoralities;"‡ of which fact he furnishes the most striking proofs. He complains that "there are few of their celebrated pulpits, where more has not been said for sin than against it;"§ and he reproaches the preachers with "making their hearers believe that, though adultery and murder are damning sins in poor blind Turks and Pagans, they are only spots in God's Children."¶ In consequence of all this Mr. Wesley, who was

* Mosheim, vol. 6. p. 23. The moravians called their system, *the liberty and the poor sinnership*. Many of them sold their prayer books and left off reading and praying to follow the lamb. Nelson's Journal.—† Whitehead's Life of Wesley, vol. 2. p. 68.—‡ Fletcher's, of Madeley, Checks to Antinomianism, vol. 2. p. 22.—§ Ibid, p. 215.—¶ Ibid, p. 217.

himself a moral man, made an attempt, though in ineffectual one, to reform his system, confessing that he and his followers "had before leaned too much to calvinism and too much to antinomianism." He at the same time distinctly informs us what doctrines he understands to be antinomian. They are these. 1. "That Christ has abolished the moral law: 2. That therefore christians are not obliged to observe it: 3. That one branch of christian liberty, is liberty from obeying the commands of God: 4. That it is bondage to do a thing because it is commanded, or to forbear it because it is forbidden: 5. That a christian is not obliged to use the ordinances of God, or to do good works: 6. That a preacher ought not to exhort to good works."* Such is the doctrine into which the moral and well-meaning John Wesley was led by adopting the enthusiastic principle of the Moravians. Such is the doctrine of the innumerable hordes of antinomian methodists at the present day, and such "within a hair's breadth," by his own confession, was Wesley's system, even after he had reformed it.†

Beguiled by the same phantom of a special revelation, Sweedenborg has more recently

* See minutes of Wesley's conference with his preachers. Whitehead's life of Wesley, vol. 2. p. 218. &c.—† Ibid.

devised a most whimsical mode of religion, for the exercise of which, I understand, an elegant temple is opened in this your town on the present day. This fanatic imagined that the Almighty appeared to him, not on Mount Horeb nor on Mount Sina, but in a different place, and revealed to him that the scriptures had never yet been understood by any mortal man, but that he, Sweedenborg, was elected to explain them to mankind, and that he was qualified to converse with angels and departed spirits. The most prominent part, however, of his religion consists in the establishment of a *new Jerusalem* here upon earth, a project which, as I mentioned, had before been attempted by John of Leyden at Munster ; and it seems, if I understand the matter right, that we were, some fourteen years ago, transferred into this new Jerusalem or Paradise, without being conscious of it.

Finally a supposed prophetess, or rather a divine female personage, has lately arisen in our own neighbourhood, and has formed an immense society of followers, who are now spread over the different parts of the island. Johanna is deeply persuaded that she holds frequent communication, not only with the Deity, from whom she delivers voluminous

oracles in prose and rhyme, but also with Satan, whom she is bent upon killing, having already drawn blood from him. It seems, according to her revelations, that she is the woman foretold in Genesis who was to crush the serpent's head: She is also the woman described in the Revelations as cloathed with the sun and crowned with twelve stars, which are the clergymen of the establishment whom she has gained over to be her apostles: She is moreover the evening star, as Christ is the morning star: In short she has received power to issue passports, under her hand and seal, to places in the kingdom of heaven, as she is in the daily practice of doing! But, enough of these extravagancies; for surely, my dear brethren, enough of them have been adduced to convince you that the doctrine of a private spirit or revelation, from which they have all proceeded, cannot be the true rule of christian revelation. No, Jesus Christ never intended that principle to be the guide of his followers from which so much folly, contradiction, impiety, and wickedness has flowed.

To address myself now to those christians who adopt the second of the above-mentioned rules of faith, namely, to those who profess to be guided in matters of religion by the

written word of God, the bible alone, as interpreted by each person for himself ; which class comprehends the members of the church of England, the lutherans, calvinists, and many other denominations of dissenters; far be it from me, my christian brethren of these communions, to say a word in derogation of the bible. I know that it was written by the prophets, apostles, and evangelists : But I will add that you do not know this : I mean you assume the fact without having the necessary grounds for your opinion. Again I know that these writers, who, however holy, were still men, and subject to human infirmities and passions, wrote their books under the immediate inspiration of God's spirit ; but you have no sufficient reason for asserting this. Lastly I know that the books themselves have not, in the lapse of ages, suffered any material alteration ; but you cannot consistently assert this. Do you ask me my grounds for these positions ? I answer you, I have the testimony of the universal church, who alone is competent to vouch for the facts in question, namely for the authenticity, the inspiration and the integrity of the several books of scripture ; which testimony you reject as false and spurious. For observe, dear brethren, that the same uniform tradition of the great catholic church which

tells you that the four gospels were written by the evangelists, whose name they bear, under the influence of inspiration, and that they have not been corrupted since they were written, tells you, with equal positiveness and unanimity, that there is a living, speaking tribunal in this church for interpreting them ; in other words, that she herself has authority to decide in all doubtful matters on the sense of the divine oracles. Protestants at their first revolt from the catholic church equivalently told her : “ We believe you, that these books which you deliver to us are the inspired word of God : but we disbelieve you, when you tell us that you have authority to explain them to us. We admit that you have not corrupted the scriptures themselves ; but we maintain that you have corrupted the doctrines contained in them.”—Just as if a lying witness were to be believed at all ! Just as if it were not more easy for her to corrupt the former than the latter ! In fact, the scriptures were, for a long time, in the hands of comparatively a few persons, and those chiefly priests and monks. These also had the care of transcribing fresh copies of them, and without their care the bible never would have reached our time : whereas the leading doctrines of religion were in the constant possession of millions upon millions

of people of all nations and all descriptions. If then these millions had, down to any period you may assign, believed, for example, that Christ is not truly present in the sacrament, how difficult a matter must it have been for the most artful impostors to make this innumerable heterogeneous multitude adopt the opposite doctrine! But, to return to the precise point in question; in case Jesus Christ had intended that the great bulk of his followers should learn their religion from the written scriptures, would he not, during his mortal life, have set about writing them? Or, at least, would not his first injunction to the apostles have been to write them? Again, would not he have provided that the generality of mankind, in all ages and nations should be able to read them and understand them, and this in the original languages? We find, indeed, repeated injunctions of our Saviour to his apostles to *preach* the gospel, with the promise that he would be with them, in the discharge of this ministry, to the end of the world.* But we find no orders about their writing it. Accordingly, they did preach it in every country; and they ordained others to preach it after them; and many flourishing churches were established and long continued

* Matt. c. xxviii. v. 20.

amongst nations who were generally destitute of the use of letters.* On the other hand only a certain number of the apostles wrote at all, and those, for the most part, wrote on certain particular occasions. In short, the canon of the new testament was not absolutely settled throughout the church till about four hundred years after Christ, during all which years, some of the books that are now received as canonical, were deemed apochryphal by great numbers of good christians,† and certain books, which are now universally rejected, were received by some of them as canonical.‡ A great part of our mistaken brethren argue just as if they had received the modern bible, in the English language, from the hand of God himself, in the same manner as Moses received the tables of the law on the top of Mount Sina.

Finally I will ask you, my brethren, whether you ever heard of a state or legislator, and whether you think such a one ever existed, that, having composed a rule or code of laws, left every subject at liberty to explain it according to his own private opinion? You that are magistrates or who have studied the law,

* S. Iren. adv. Hær. L. iii. c. 4.— † For example, the Revelations, the Epistle to the Heb. &c.—‡ The Pastor of Hermas, &c.

tell me what would be the consequence if our statutes, or a single act of parliament, upon the most simple subject and drawn up with the utmost precision, were left to the public at large as a rule of conduct for them to act upon, without reference to any judge or tribunal whatever? You will tell me that "it would be better to have no law at all, than law thus constructed, which would inevitably be the source of endless disputes and confusion." And can we fancy that Jesus Christ has left his holy word without the necessary safeguard of an authorized interpreter? Or his holy church without a living tribunal to keep peace in it? No, my brethren, the eternal wisdom has not been so improvident. On the contrary, that same universal tradition which has handed down to us the scriptures themselves, as likewise some of the clearest passages in these very scriptures* testify that there is such a living interpreter, such a speaking tribunal, namely, the concurring voice of the chief pastors of the church throughout the whole of her extent. This living authority it is which has condemned all heresies from the council of Jerusalem† held against the Nazareans, down to that of Trent which censured Martin Luther.

* 2. Pet. c. i. v. 20. Ephes. c. iv. v. 12. 1 John, c. iv. v. 6. &c.—
 † Acts, c. xv.

This it is which has preserved the ancient church in unity and truth during 1800 years; while all later communions, by abandoning it, have split into endless divisions, and have died or are dying away. This is that *holy and straight high way* of which the prophet Isaiah declares that *fools shall not err therein*.^{*} In a word this is that short, easy, and safe rule which I promised to point out to you at the beginning of my discourse; the only one which is accommodated to the capacity of mankind in general, and the only one which can settle the doubts of the most learned. In following this rule you will not have to turn over and study the pages of the bible from the beginning of Genesis to the end of Revelations in order to find out the truth upon every controverted point that has ever been agitated amongst christians; you will not have to study them in the original Greek and Hebrew; you will not have to collate apparent contradictory passages, &c. the only question you will have to ask is: “How does the church of Christ explain such and such passages of scripture? What does she believe and teach on these several controverted points?” Now this is as safe a rule as it is a short and easy one;

^{*} Isaiah, c. xxxv. v. 8.

because it is self-evident that the true church cannot teach false doctrine.

But it may be urged by some persons of the communions in question: "If we must listen to a church, we will listen to our own, being persuaded that ours is the true church." To this I answer; "You cannot adopt this rule, without abandoning the one by which you have hitherto been guided, whether this be your own private spirit or your own private interpretation of the bible. No: you cannot lay a fresh foundation for your religion, without subverting that on which it has hitherto rested. It was precisely by rejecting all living church-authority and by appealing to a dead letter, (which ingenious men, when they are pressed, can turn to any sense they please,) that your founders Luther, and Calvin, and Cranmer, and Knox, and the rest of the first reformers, of the sixteenth century, founded their respective religions. All these adopted this same rule, though it led most of them to contradictory conclusions." — However, my brethren, as this precise question taken apart; *Which is the true church of Christ*, is perhaps still more simple and easy to be solved than the other which I have been treating of, concerning the true rule of faith, at the same time

that it conducts to the self-same conclusion, I am willing to enter into a brief discussion of the subject. I have said that it is an easy matter to discover the true church of Christ amongst the many sects pretending to this glorious title; and my reason for saying this is, that the church in question bears certain exterior characters or marks, peculiar to herself, which cannot fail of striking the senses of every sincere inquirer, unlearned as well as learned, and because, however we are divided upon other points, we all happily agree as to the marks in question of the true church.

What sort of church then is it, my brethren of a different communion, that you declare your belief in, when you repeat the profession of faith which we have received by tradition from the apostles, and which is therefore called the apostles creed? You say: "I BELIEVE IN THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH." Again how do you describe this church more at large in the creed appointed by the great council of Nice, in the year 315, and adopted into her liturgy by your church? * You say: "I BELIEVE IN ONE CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLICAL CHURCH." So say you, so say I, in our solemn addresses to the

* Service for the Lord's Supper. Book of Common Prayer.

Almighty. The only questions then for our investigation are which, among the contending communions has the best title to be termed the One Church, the Holy Church, the Catholic Church, and Apostolical Church? And these questions, I maintain, may be easily solved to a moral certainty by every upright and diligent inquirer.

For first, with respect to the mark of unity in belief, every such inquirer will discover, that no such thing exists or can exist among those who claim the freedom of interpreting the scriptures according to their own particular opinions. He will find, not only the different sects who follow this rule, opposed to one another, but he will also find the members of the same communion divided amongst themselves (in spite of all articles and tests to keep them united) upon points of the most essential consequence; so far as not even to be agreed with respect to the very object of their adoration and the Deity whom they worship. Yes, my brethren, it stands upon record, and the publications of your most eminent divines continually announce it to you that you are not, at the present day, agreed whether Jesus Christ is God, coequal with the Eternal Father? Or whether he is a mere creature

produced by him in time? The consequence of this is that in the self-same exterior communion, or rather in the different modern communions (for the observation holds good with respect to most of them) this party accuses that of idolatry for worshipping Jesus with divine honour, and that party accuses this of impiety for denying such honour to him! And can the mark of unity be discerned in churches composed like these?—Turning now his eyes to that mother church who claims and exercises the authority of deciding upon controversies, the religious inquirer will discover one and the same belief in matters of faith and morality, amongst all its countless millions, from Italy to Ireland, and from China to Canada. It is true disputes may sometimes arise amongst them; but these are quickly suppressed by the above-mentioned authority. In short, submission or separation soon finishes every contest amongst them. The same observation holds good with respect to church government and the liturgy. In the modern communions we witness constant and endless disputes about the existence of ecclesiastical authority? Whether it is human or divine? Where this authority is lodged? Whether the sacraments do or do not confer grace, and are or are not necessary for salvation? In short,

we hear an incessant cry for a revision of the articles and the liturgy.—Not so in the unchangeable mother church; all is peace and harmony with her on these essential points. An exact and well-poised subordination of her several orders is universally submitted to and acknowledged to have been constituted by Christ and his apostles. The same essential liturgy of seven life-giving sacraments and of one all-powerful sacrifice is devoutly performed without a murmur or a question in the four quarters of the globe. And can there, my dear brethren, be a doubt which of the contending communions is the **ONE CHURCH**? —It is to guard this unity of doctrine and liturgy with the greatest possible care that the catholic church continues to make use of the learned unvarying languages in her public worship. Not that she wishes to conceal any part of her service from the common people: on the contrary, she requires her pastors to explain it to them, and she furnishes the people with versions of it; but unity of faith and worship being essential to her constitution, she fears that if she committed the essential forms of her sacraments and sacrifice to the numberless and still changing languages and dialects of the different nations whom she comprises, important changes might take place in these

matters, and her unity might thus be undermined. It is natural for a new and a mere national church to adopt its national language : And for a similar reason the great latin church retains the latin language, as the greek church retains the greek language. After all, my brethren, it is not the church which has imposed an unknown language on the people ; but it is the people who have forgotten that language which they formerly understood. Again, the latin being learnt by men of education in every country, so far from being an unknown language, is precisely the language which is most generally known.

To go on now to the second mark of the true church, as it is acknowledged by you, my dear brethren, as well as by me, namely, SANCTITY ; when you say : “ I believe in THE HOLY Catholic Church.” Will it, do you think, require any long investigation, on the part of the sincere inquirer, to be satisfied on this head ? Will he not very soon discover which, among the different communions, exacts of its members, and particularly of its clergy, more frequent prayer, reading of the scriptures and other good books, self-examination, the confession of sins, the receiving of the holy sacrament, alms deeds, abstinence,

fasting, and such other works of piety? Not that sanctity itself consists in any or in all of these exterior works; but we must offer violence to the whole context of both testaments, and we must renounce the example of all the holy personages recorded in each of those volumns of scripture to deny that these are at least the means, the marks, and the fruits of sanctity. With respect to the two last-mentioned works, abstinence and fasting on several appointed days, they are no less strictly enjoined in the common prayer book,* than they are in the ritual of the ancient communion. But where is there an individual christian, not belonging to the latter, who even professes to observe them? Again, we must acknowledge, if we are sincere and candid, that Christ did not deceive "*the young man who had kept the commandments from his youth,*" when he told him: "If thou wilt be perfect, go sell all thou hast and give to the poor and thou shalt have treasure in heaven:"† nor his disciples, in general, when he said to them: "There are eunuchs (or continent persons) who have made themselves such for the kingdom of heavens sake.‡ Yet the state of

* See "A table of vigils, fasts and days of abstinence to be observed in the year," at the beginning of the Common Prayer Book.—† Matt. c. xix. v. 21.—‡ Matt. c. xix. v. 12.

life which embraces these evangelical counsels is known to be universally derided by the modern communions and is followed only in the ancient church. Lastly, to omit other proofs, I ask to which of the contending communions did those eminent saints, whose sanctity is recognized in the modern* as well as in the ancient calendars and whose names are inscribed on places of worship, belong? Is there any question or doubt concerning the faith of a Pope Gregory the Great, whose festival occurs in the calendar of the common prayer book on the 12th of March, or of his disciple St. Augustine,† by whose united efforts our Saxon ancestors were converted to christianity? Or of that of his successor in the see of Canterbury, St. Dunstan?‡ Or of that of St. Benedict, the patriarch of the Monks?§ Or of that of St. Chad, the peculiar patron of this diocese, and also of this new chapel?¶ Or of that of Venerable Bede, whose numerous writings bear so clear a testimony to the religion which he professed?|| Who now can call in question the claim of a church, who has been the mother of all the saints in the calendar, to be called THE HOLY CHURCH?

* See the Calendar at the beginning of the Common Prayer Book. —
 † May 20. — ‡ May 19. — § March 21. — ¶ March 2. — || May 27.

The third mark of the true church is so conspicuous, so glaring, that it is almost incomprehensible that any christian, believing in his creed, should, for a moment, hesitate to point her out. If I ask you: "What church you profess, in the Apostles creed, to believe in?" You answer me: "The Holy CATHOLIC Church." If I proceed to ask you: "Pray, are you a catholic?" You reply: "No: I am a protestant." And, if I further interrogate you: "Is there any place in this town where the catholics meet to perform divine worship?" You will not fail to point out this chapel, or else that other catholic chapel on the adjoining hill. Who can hear this without exclaiming in admiration: "How is it possible that you can believe in the catholic church, without being yourself a catholic? And even whilst you acknowledge there are persons of a different communion from yourself who are catholics?" It is to be observed that all the numberless sects which have existed since the beginning of the church, 1800 years ago, have been desirous of attributing to themselves this glorious epithet of catholic; and that no communion, except the one which has a right to the title, has ever been able to acquire it. This was the remark of the great doctor of the church St. Augustine 1400 years ago. In this time

the church was afflicted with numerous and powerful heresies and schisms, now extinct, each one of which was desirous of being termed catholic. But, says this holy doctor : “ Let any stranger go into a town and enquire, *where the catholics meet to perform their worship*, they will be sure to be directed by these very sectaries, not to their own churches, but invariably to that of the real catholics.”—After all, my dear brethren, I do not so much insist on the name itself of catholic as I do on the thing signified by that name. CATHOLIC, a word derived from the greek, means UNIVERSAL. Hence, for me to say : “ I am a catholic christian,” is to say : “ I do not belong to the church of any particular country or of any particular man or society of men, or of any particular period. I am not of the church of England, nor of the church of Scotland, nor of the church of Geneva. I am not a Lutheran, nor a Calvinist, nor a Whitfieldite ; nor am I of any new-invented sect whatsoever. But I am a member of the great universal church of all nations, that which was instituted by Christ and built by him on a rock, and which, according to his promises, shall remain for ever. In short I adhere to the ancient, original, main stock of the christian religion, from which as many branches as have been cut off, in the course

of 1800 years, have, in a short time, withered and died away.”—Now, my brethren, which is this great and principal church of christian nations, these nations unequivocally declare; and which is this ancient church, the original main stock of christianity, *the very stones from the walls of your cathedrals and most other churches cry out.**

Nor is the fourth mark of Christ’s true church less visible, that of APOSTOLICITY. We can tell the *time when*, and the *place where*, and the *cause why*, the other societies of christians received their being; but no one can tell these particulars with respect to the catholic church, since the time when our Saviour said to St. Peter on the coast of Cæsarea Philippi: “Thou art Peter (or a rock) and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.”† This church can actually trace the regular succession of her chief pastors, through a list of above two hundred and fifty names, from the present edifying Pontiff, Pope Pius VII, up to this prince of the apostles, St. Peter, and can thereby prove her orders and her commission for preaching the gospel and administering the sacraments to be truly divine; while all other communions

* Habacuc, c. ii. v. 11.—† Matt. c. xvi. v. 18.

must confine their succession to a very late period ; or must vainly attempt to engraft themselves again on that ancient stock from which they unhappily separated themselves.

What now can be opposed to these clear, convincing arguments in favour of the catholic rule of faith and of the catholic church herself? Nothing, my brethren, but misrepresentation and calumny ; misrepresentation a thousand times cleared up, calumny a thousand times confuted. What we catholics chiefly complain of is, that, whereas we permit all other religious societies to explain their own systems, and we argue with them on their own acknowledged grounds, we, in our turn, are not permitted to state and explain our religion ; but our sworn adversaries fabricate a system of faith and morals for us, and, by dint of sophistry and clamour, endeavour to persuade the world and, if they could, to persuade us ourselves that we actually believe in it. To convince yourselves what tenets and maxims we really hold, consult our creeds and professions of faith, or our catechisms, or the celebrated *exposition of the catholic doctrine* by the great Bossuet. Or, what, perhaps, may afford you more satisfaction than any of these methods ; take some artless child between the

ages of twelve and fifteen, any one whom you understand to have been well instructed in the catholic doctrine and morality : Ask him, for example : “ Whether the crucifix which you see here exalted upon this altar is placed there to be prayed to or adored ? ” He will answer you : “ God forbid that we should be idolaters : we have pictures and images for their proper use, namely, to remind us of the persons and things which they represent, and to be of use to us in repelling distracting thoughts of the world ; but we have been always taught that these representations *have neither life nor sense to hear or help us.*” * Should you further ask him, “ Whether he does not at least pray to saints and thereby give to creatures the honour which belongs to God ? ” He will answer you with a distinction : “ It is true indeed we sometimes, as our devotion leads us, pray to the saints in heaven to pray to God for us, just in the same manner as we pray our fellow christians here on earth to pray for us. But we ask nothing from the saints but *what they and we must obtain from the bounty of God who alone is the giver of all good gifts.*” † Should you go on to interrogate the child on the different charges of immorality which the

* Catholic Catechism.—† Ibid.

malice of our enemies has^s invented against us, as the malice of the Pagans did against the ancient christians;* he will answer you, in substance, as follows: “So far from believing that I may perjure myself in any case or for any purpose whatsoever, I have been taught that I must not tell the smallest lie to save my life or to save the whole world. So far from believing that I can procure an indulgence or leave to commit future sin, I am convinced that no past sin can be remitted, in any case whatever, without a sincere and sovereign sorrow, a hearty resolution to avoid it and all the occasions which have led to the commission of it, and without making every possible reparation to my neighbour if I have injured him.† I have never learnt that it is the duty of catholics to persecute those of a different religion, when they have it in their power to do so. Protestants may have been persecuted by catholics on political grounds, as my fore-fathers were persecuted to death for more than a century by the protestants of this country; but the catholic religion itself teaches me to love all my fellow creatures, without distinction, and to do good to them all, to the best of my power.”—Thus,

* See Tacitus, Tertullian, &c.—† See Catholic Catechism.

my dear brethren, will all the other calumnies, misrepresentations, and cavils against the mother church, to which you are indebted for your christianity and civilization, in short, the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolical Church, dissolve into air, when we have an opportunity of laying hold of them and handling them.

3. In the first part of my discourse I addressed myself chiefly to deists and other irreligious sophists, and in the second part of it to my fellow christians of the different new-invented systems. It now remains for me, in this concluding portion of it, to say a few words particularly adapted to the catholic part of my audience.—Infinite thanks then, my dear fellow members in Jesus Christ, are due from you to the pure mercy of God which has preserved you in the safe tranquillity of his holy ark, the catholic church, whilst you see, with your own eyes, those christians who have abandoned it *tossed to and fro and carried about by every wind of doctrine*.* The best proof of your security from error in the bosom of this church is that, whereas you know well that persons of other communions are in the frequent habit of seeking to enter into it, at the awful conscience-speaking article of death

* Ephes. c. iv. v. 14.

and of sending for your pastors for this purpose, there is no instance known, there is none upon record, of a well instructed catholic seeking to die in any religion but his own! Infinite thanks, again, are due from you to the pure mercy of God for the numerous and inestimable practical helps for working out your salvation which this church affords you, in the communion of saints; in the seven sacraments, those living fountains of grace, so admirably adapted by infinite wisdom to your several necessities and stations of life; and finally, in the adorable sacrifice of the new law, so infinitely superior to the types of it in the old law; which sacrifice, you know, constitutes the most essential part of your public worship. But, my fellow catholics, to come to the point which I announced in the division of my sermon; will any of these advantages or all of them together avail you, of themselves to please God or to save your souls? May you argue with the pharisees; "We are the children of Abraham and therefore we shall inherit the promises of Abraham?" No, my brethren; for Christ answers them and you: "If you are the children of Abraham, do the works of Abraham."† In other, more explicit words, he tells you: "If you will

* John, c. viii. v. 39.

enter into life keep the commandments ;” * not one or two commandments, but all and every one of them. There is no place, in the region of infinite purity and infinite happiness, for pride, or avarice, or lust, or anger, or intemperance, or envy, or sloth. Should you be found guilty of any one of these vices, or of a single act of them, unrepented of, at the all-important moment of your entering into eternity (as judging from their lives, we may safely say, too many catholics will be found) the religious advantages which God has conferred upon you will be the cause of your heavier condemnation. “It will be more tolerable to Tyre and Sidon” than to you “at that day.” † In a word, the exterior of religion, however necessary, will not avail you without the interior vital part of it which is comprised in truly “loving God with all your heart, with all your soul, with all your mind, and with all your strength, and your neighbour as yourselves ;” and, as the beloved disciple assures us, this “love must not consist in words only, but in deed and in effect.” However, as these moral precepts will form the ordinary matter of the discourses which your pious pastor will weekly deliver to you in this sacred place, and as I have already taken up a great deal of the time of my audi-

* Matt. c. xix. v. 17. — † Matt. c. xi. v. 22.

ence in general, I will now conclude with
 once more beseeching the Almighty to bestow
 his blessing upon this place and upon us here
 assembled in it.

O Lord God Almighty ! who, though "heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thy immensity, yet vouchsafest to choose this place to thyself as a house of sacrifice," graciously bestow thy blessing upon it and upon all us who are here assembled. "Let thy eyes be open and let thy ears be attentive to the sacrifices and prayers that are and shall be offered up to thee in this thy house." Shower down thy blessings, both temporal and spiritual, according to thy boundless mercy, not only upon us, but also upon our gracious Sovereign, and our fellow subjects in general, and upon all mankind ; that we may serve thee faithfully here on earth, and come to the sight and possession of thee hereafter in thy heavenly kingdom ; through the merits of thy Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord.—The blessing of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost descend upon you and dwell for ever with you. Amen.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

P. 16, l. 22, for *rash* read *rank*.

P. 20, l. ult. for *Mash* read *MacLaine*.

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PASTORAL LETTER

OF

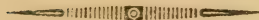
JOHN, BISHOP OF CASTABALA, V.A.

ADDRESSED TO ALL THE

CATHOLIC CLERGY

OF THE

MIDLAND DISTRICT.



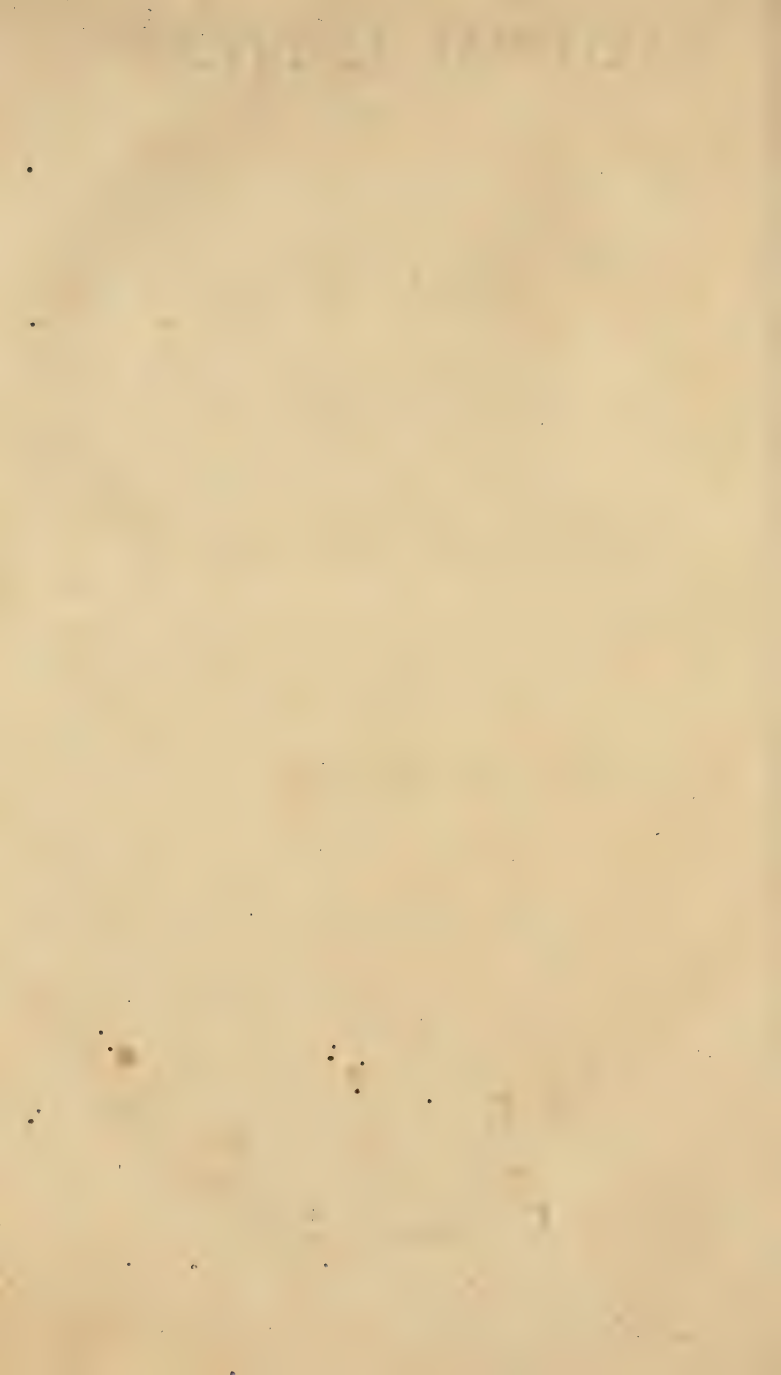
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TO ALL THE
CATHOLIC CLERGY
OF THE
MIDLAND DISTRICT.

Rev. and Beloved Brethren in Jesus Christ,

WHEN I addressed to you my last letter, dated June 1, in the present year, exhorting you to join with your respective congregations in offering up fervent prayers to *the throne of mercy* for our Holy Father, P. Pius VII. in his state of suffering and danger, and warning you against pestilential and schismatical errors concerning his conduct and authority, I was well aware of the grounds there were for such an admonition. I did not, however, then expect that these errors would so soon and so audaciously stalk abroad in all their native deformity, and under the avowed names of their chief abettors, as proves to be the case, by the publication of two different letters addressed to me, the one entitled: *Défense du Clergé François résident à Londres, et dans le reste de l'Angleterre, contre l'Inculpation de Mgr. J. Milner, Evêque de Castabala, Vic. Apos. &c.* and signed *P. L. Blanchard, Curé de S. Hyppolite, &c.* 27th June, 1808; the other entitled, *Lettre de M. Gaschet, Curé de Vignolles, à Mgr. J.*

Milner, Evêque, &c. signed *Gaschet, &c.* 30th Juin, 1808.—I do not here speak of certain late anonymous publications of the same nature. You clearly see, beloved brethren, that my Pastoral has not created the fatal mischief which I deplore, but that it has forced it to assume its proper shape, (to the salutary dread, I trust, of many who before were too familiar with it): that it has not formed the dangerous abcess, which I have been alarmed about, but that it has laid it open, to the improved health, as I hope by God's grace, of our Catholic body.

For some years past, as I heretofore intimated, I have lamented the scandal, and too probable loss of souls, occasioned by the errors in question; but as they regarded all the other districts, as well as the one committed to my care, I waited in hopes of being able to expose them to my colleagues, assembled in a canonical synod, (that approved remedy for all ecclesiastical maladies,) in order that we might adopt some measures in common for repressing them. In the mean time, the numerous personal attacks which have been made upon me and my writings, by partizans of these errors, have not provoked me to break silence concerning them. Seeing, however, that there was no prospect of such a synod being soon held, in consequence of the infirm health of my colleagues, and other obstacles, and the subject on the other hand actually presenting itself to me in my last pastoral, I thought it my duty to admonish my flock, dispersed throughout fifteen counties, in the manner that I have done. At the present time, observing the increased boldness of the abettors of schism in propagating it, and in thwarting me in the discharge of my duty, so far as to dissuade a large proportion of you from publishing my late pastoral(1), and

(1) *Défense, &c.* par Mr. Blanchard, p. 5, l. 1.

so far as even to term me publicly a *Concordatist* (1), after having endeavoured to prove that the clergy of this description are *obstinate heretics* (2), I consider it as a duty which I owe to my station in the Catholic Church, to the dignity and authority of our Holy Father, now suffering for conscience sake, and to your spiritual welfare, and that of your flocks, to address these further admonitions and instructions to you, on the subject of these pernicious errors.—I think it proper, dear Brethren, in the first place, to lay before you a *few* of the passages containing these errors, which I have extracted from certain former as well as late publications that have been dispersed amongst us: for if I undertook to present you with *all* the passages of this nature which have been so published and dispersed, I should have to send you a huge folio volume. I shall take no notice whatsoever of the writings of Abbé de Chateaugiron, who is now dead, nor of those of Abbé Osoir, whom I suppose to have been long silent, nor of the Journals of Mr. Peltier, because he is a layman, and therefore presumed to be unacquainted with questions of theology, but I shall confine myself to the publications of the two above mentioned authors, who have within these five weeks written and printed letters against my last pastoral, together with one or two other works whose authors are unknown to me.

“ L’Hérésie vient d’obtenir en France un triomphe complet, et Pie VII. en est la première et la principale cause.”—*Première Suite à la Controverse Pacifique, par l’auteur de la Controv. Pacif.* A. D. 1805, p. 421. (3)

(1) Défense, &c. par Mr. Blanchard, p. 29.

(2) Etat. Polit. par Mr. Blanchard, pp. 412, 413.

(3) N. B. The Abbé Blanchard avows himself to be the author of the *Controverse Pacifique* in his late *Défense*, p. 2.

“ Les Evêques de France et ceux de l'Eglise entière, ont ignoré si Pie VII. avoit, ou s'il n'avoit pas cette connoissance qui l'eut rendu hérétique formel. Ils ont pu, du moins, douter, et être à cet égard dans l'incertitude.” *Ibid.* p. 421.

“ Je dirai de plus que les fideles et les prêtres Catholiques, étrangers à la France, doivent une véritable et sincere déférence aux *Réclamations Canoniques* de nos Evêques. Cette déférence consiste à recevoir avec respect les grandes vérités qui y sont exposées, à déplorer avec nous les malheurs de l'Eglise, loin d'applaudir aux mesures désastreuses de Pie VII.” *Ibid.* p. 510.

“ Nous établirons que le concordat est la premiere chaine de l'Eglise Concordataire, et le premier instrument de la ruine de l'Eglise Catholique.”—*L'Etat Politique et Religieux de la France, &c. par l'Auteur de la Controverse Pacifique, A. D. 1806, p. 23.*

“ Si Pie VII. lui même avoit trahi la foi, par l'union avec des hérétiques notoires, par la profession et l'enseignement public de l'hérésie, &c. ceux (les évêques) de France pourroient n'être pas unis à lui, avoir droit à nos hommages, et être unis à Pierre.” *Ibid.* p. 219.

“ Alors, et à ces conditions, se fit la réunion ; et cet amalgame on l'appelle Eglise Catholique. Il est vrai que, par la réunion, les Constitutionnels perdirent leur nom, et, de Clergé Constitutionnel, ils devinrent, avec leurs associés, et furent nommés le Clergé Concordataire ; mais il est également incontestable et qu'ils conserverent leurs principes, et qu'ils les firent adopter au Clergé Catholique, réuni à eux— Les Constitutionnels formoient, lorsque le Clergé Catholique s'est réuni à eux, un corps d'hérétiques opiniâtres.” *Ibid.* pp. 412, 413.

“ Une Eglise aussi complètement asservie ne peut être l'Eglise de Jésus-Christ, dont la liberté est insépa-

nable. Cette vérité frappe les esprits. Nous l'avons entendue exposer, dans la chaire évangélique, avec autant de solidité que d'éloquence." *Ibid.* p. 433.

" Plusieurs lettres, arrivées depuis peu de diverses provinces de France, attestent unanimement que, dans plusieurs cantons, les prêtres fideles se séparent de la communion de l'Eglise Concordataire, et forment ce que les partisans du concordat nomme La *Petite Eglise*.—Cette séparation, inspirée par l'attachement aux décisions de l'Eglise Catholique, &c." *Ibid.* p. 434.

" Les Pasteurs Concordataires, esclaves volontaires, et dévoués aux persécuteurs mêmes, doivent être évités par les fideles, jaloux d'opérer leur salut, et ils n'ont pas reçu de Jésus-Christ les pouvoirs essentiellement libres dans leur principe et dans leur exercice." *Ibid.* p. 433.

" Nos Evêques n'ont pas hésité à defendre leurs droits.—Que deviendrait l'Eglise Gallicane si les désastres causés par la foiblesse de Pie VII. n'étoient pas réparés par leur fermeté ? Que deviendroient les autres Eglises, si des mesures aussi funestes passaient en foi, faute de réclamation ? Que deviendroient même les promesses faites à l'Eglise, où en seroient les inséparables effets, si les droits sacrés, si l'Episcopat, cette institution divine, étoient sacrifiés sans aucune opposition ?" *Ibid.* p. 101.

Un des sujets de leurs justes plaintes, c'est que Pie VII. par sa foiblesse, ait introduit le schisme même et l'hérésie dans le sein de l'Eglise." *Ibid.* p. 193.

" I shall here quote a few lines from an anonymous work, of the same date and tendency with the last mentioned, called *Dissertation sur l'Article 13, du Concordat*, as I have to take notice hereafter of some part of its statements.—" Il s'établit en France une Eglise nouvelle sur les ruines de l'ancienne, et qui devient,

sous des rapports essentiels, différente de l'Eglise de Jésus-Christ." P. 2.

"Pie VII. auroit fait une cession immense, universelle et sans exemple, uniquement pour l'établissement du libre exercice du culte extérieur, en vertu d'un concordat qui porte un coup mortel à la religion, dans ce qu'elle a d'essentiel." *Ibid.* p. 20.

Another work without the author's name, and without any date, but which appears from circumstances to have been published within these few weeks, contains the following schismatical proposal and advice to the Catholic public :—" Il faut éclairer les pasteurs, tant sur les erreurs, que sur les dangers du concordat, pour éclairer par eux le peuple même.—Mais il nous paraît impossible de l'attaquer avec succès, tant qu'on en respecte l'auteur.—Attaquer la transaction, et ménager celui d'où elle émane, ce sont deux choses contradictoires dans les termes. Tant que vous aurez ces ménagements, on vous objectera, sans cesse, l'autorité, et vos preuves les plus décisives viendront échouer contre cette borne que vous aurez laissée devant vous. Il est nécessaire de choisir : si nous condamnons le Concordat, comme destructif de l'Eglise, comme contraire à la justice et aux droits les plus sacrés, il en faut condamner l'auteur et le dénoncer à l'Eglise Catholique, &c." *Observations sur la Lettre de l'Inquisiteur, &c.* p. 17.

I proceed now to extract a few passages from the two letters which have just been published against my pastoral.—" A Dieu ne plaise, Mgr. que j'entreprenne ici l'apologie des seuls Evêques légitimes de France." (Meaning the French Bishops who have not given up their sees.) *Défense du Clergé, &c. par l'Abbé Blanchard*, (dated) *Juin* 27, 1808, p. 5.

" Décider que Pie VII. a sauvé le dogme et la discipline universelle de l'Eglise, est une pétition des principes." *Ibid.* p. 21.

“ Pie VII. par la formation de l'Eglise Concordataire, a, en effet, révoqué les Brefs de son prédécesseur et admis les principes fondamentaux de la *Constitution Civile du Clergé*,” p. 23.

“ Comment Pie VII. a-t-il formé ce fantôme d'Eglise ? Il l'a formé sur les bases mêmes que Pie VI. avoit condamnées comme impies, hérétiques et schismatiques,” p. 24.

“ Prouvez qu'il (Pie VII.) n'a pas sacrifié les saintes regles et l'Eglise même,” p. 31.—“ Est ce qu'il mourroit sans avoir manifesté son repentir ?” *Ibid.*

The other writer who, by name and under his own name, has attacked my Pastoral, l'Abbé Gaschet, though he expresses himself in much plainer and grosser terms than l'Abbé Blanchard, does little more than follow up the principles which the latter has, for so long a time, and so indefatigably, been employed in propagating.—This writer begins his letter with expressing the concern which my Pastoral has given him: after which he proceeds as follows:

“ Ce que j'y trouve de bien frappant, c'est que vous ordonnez des prières pour la délivrance de ce trop coupable Pontife, sans parler de celles que la charité prescrit pour sa conversion ; c'est que vous le présentéz à la piété des fideles pour le premier et digne pasteur de l'Eglise, tandis qu'il en est le plus redoutable persécuteur ; c'est que vous le combléz d'éloges, quoiqu'il ne mérite que des anathêmes, &c.” *Lettre de M. Gaschet, curé de Vignolles, &c. à Mgr. J. Milner, Evêque de Castabala, Vic. Apos. dated Londres, 30th Juin, 1808, pp. 3; 4.*

“ Depuis quatre ans que je suis en Angleterre, je n'y ai pas exercé le ministere de la prédication, ni fait imprimer aucun écrit. Mais je vous déclare que, dans toutes les occasions qui se sont souvent présentées, je me suis hautement prononcé contre la défection de Pie VII.

jusqu'à protester, comme je le proteste ici, que dans l'ordre religieux, il m'est aussi étranger que le juif, le payen et le publicain. Je vous déclare aussi que si j'eusse parlé du haut de la chaire de vérité, ou publié d'ailleurs quelque ouvrage théologiques, je n'aurais pas manqué d'y développer mes sentiments sur le scandale affreux que ce faux Pape ne cesse de donner depuis long temps à tout l'univers." *Ibid.* p. 4.

" Pie VII. ce prétendu Pape," p. 8. " Il blasphème le saint nom de Dieu," p. 12.

" Bien loin d'avoir été trompé par les constitutionnels, Pie VII. les a lui-même volontairement confirmés dans leur damnable égarement, et, après cette abominable connivence, il a voulu tromper toute l'Eglise sur leur prétendu retour à l'unité Catholique," pp. 29, 30.

" Tous les autres ecclésiastiques concordataires étant notoirement unis de communion, et ne faisant qu'un seul et même corps de clergé avec les dits constitutionnels, toute la nouvelle Eglise de France est donc schismatique. Or, comme il est de principe, qu'il n'y a ni pouvoir de juridiction ecclésiastique, ni remission des péchés chez les hérétiques et les schismatiques, le peuple Français ne peut donc presque plus, et peut-être aucunement, recourir à un prêtre qui puisse valablement lui administrer le sacrement de pénitence," p. 38.—
 " Par la même raison, uni de communion avec le nouveau clergé Français, et avec Napoleon Bonaparte, apostat consommé et impénitent, Pie VII. (j'en suis pleinement convaincu) est donc schismatique, faneur d'hérésie et d'apostasie. Il est donc déchu de l'honneur du sacerdoce, de toutes les prérogatives attachées au Souverain Pontificat, de toute juridiction ecclésiastique, et de tout droit à l'obéissance des fideles. C'est un malheur : mais c'en seroit un autre de le flatter, de ne pas aller à son secours, et de le laisser périr dans l'abyme affreux, où il s'est jeté," p. 39.

“ Loin de nous ces ménagements d'un faux respect envers le plus dangereux agent des maux sur lesquels nous gémissons,” p. 43.

“ A Dieu ne plaise qu'en rejetant la communion de Pie VII. je veuille insulter au malheur de sa captivité !” p. 48.

Do not your ears, dear Brethren, tingle with horror at hearing such impious as well as schismatical language from French Priests? And would you not have supposed that I was repeating to you the infuriate invectives of Martin Luther against Leo X. had I not previously acquainted you with the names of those who utter it? Yet these men were once highly respectable before angels as well as men, in quality of *Confessors of the Faith*. But, giving way to a blind presumption, and a false unrelenting zeal, like the unhappy Lucifer of Cagliari in the fourth century, who himself had suffered exile for the faith, they have tarnished all their laurels, and are become a subject of scandal to the Catholic Church which they once adorned.

Though no remarks of mine upon the passages above quoted can, I am sure, add to the horror which the bare repetition of them has excited in you, yet for the sake of throwing a greater light upon the subject, I think it proper to make the two following observations concerning them.—In the first place, if what these men tell you is true, then all the glorious qualities and distinguishing marks of the true Church of Christ have disappeared, and the Church herself has failed together with them :—She is no longer, *The mountain placed upon the top of mountains, to which all nations of the earth flow*, Dan. xi. 35.—She is no more, *The one sheepfold of the one Shepherd*, John x. 16.—She has ceased to be, *The Highway of holiness in which fools cannot err*, Isaiah xxxv. 8.—*The inheritance of the*

Gentiles to the uttermost parts of the earth, Psalm xi. 8.—*The foundation of the Apostles and the Prophets, Christ himself being the corner stone*, Ephesians, ii. 20.—On the contrary she is now—*A kingdom divided against itself*, and that party in it which retains the true and saving faith and communion is so obscure, that it could not be found out by the most diligent enquirer, and so few in numbers, that it might be shut up in the smallest sectary meeting house.—In the mean time, the successor of St. Peter, lawfully chosen and universally acknowledged, with the whole Roman Church, and the whole collection of Prelates of the Universal Church, dispersed throughout the four quarters of the globe, being all of them as visibly in union with him, as they have been with any of his predecessors, and who even refuse to communicate with all Christians, not communicating with him, is a schismatic, heretic, and apostate, with whom we are bound to have no more communication, in religious concerns, than with a Jew, or a Pagan!—Such is the language of men calling themselves Catholic Priests——*Nolite annunciare in Geth, neque annuncietis in compitis Ascalonis: ne forte latentur filiæ Philisthiim, ne exultent filiæ incircumcisorum!* 2 Reg. i. 20.

In the next place, if Pius VII. is, by any means, become a “false Pope,” a “schismatic,” &c. (for I wish to spare your ears the repetition of the other impieties uttered against him,) then we Vicars Apostolical, and all the other Prelates throughout the Universal Church, who have received their institution and spiritual powers from him, are *false Pastors*; then you yourselves are *intruders* into the sacred ministry, destitute of mission and authority, and of course not a sacred rite of any kind has been *lawfully administered*, nor a single act of spiritual jurisdiction *validly exercised* by you, at least, during the last seven years!

But it is not thus, beloved Brethren, you have learned the Catholic doctrine; nor is it thus you teach it to your respective flocks. You are deeply convinced, and are ready, each one of you, to demonstrate that the true Church is always VISIBLE, is always ONE, is always HOLY, is always CATHOLIC, and always APOSTOLICAL.---Again, without entering into any theological subtilities whatsoever, you always believe and teach, that the Pope being in communion with the great body of the chief Pastors of the Church, never can become a heretic or a schismatic; and that, pronouncing on the faith, discipline, and morality of the Church, with their express or tacit approbation, he never can err.---In a word, you have learnt from St. Augustine:---“ Sicut Anathema erit qui aunciaverit Christum neque passum esse, neque resurrexisse: sic erit anathema quisquis annuciaverit ecclesiam præter communionem omnium gentium.” *Epist. 93, ad Vincent. Regat.* You have been taught by St. Ambrose, to imitate his brother Satyrus, in judging concerning the orthodoxy of any unknown Christian:---“ Percunctatus est utrumnam cum Episcopis Catholicis, hoc est, cum Ecclesiâ Romanâ conveniret.” *Orat. in Obit Satyr.* Finally, you have been instructed by St. Jerom, in every doubt concerning the true communion of the Catholic Church, to consult him who is the standard-bearer and centre of it.---“ Ego nullum primum nisi Christum sequens Beatitudini tuæ, id est, Cathedræ Petri communione consocior. Super illam petram ædificatam Ecclesiam scio. Non novi Vitalem, Meletium respuo, ignoro Paulinum. Quicumque tecum non colligit spargit. Hoc est, qui Christi non est Antichristi est.” *Epist. 57, ad Damas. Pap.*

By way of eluding this grand Catholic argument to which the Fathers and the Doctors of the Church have always had recourse in their disputes with heretics and

schismatics, (I mean the consent of the great body of her Prelates with her chief Pastor at their head) the writer who has been most industrious in propagating schism amongst us, the Abbé Blanchard, professes to be supported in this cause by all the lawful Bishops and clergy of France; by the Apostolical Vicar, and many of the native clergy of the district in which he resides; by his Holiness, the identical Pope Pius VII. and finally, by myself, his present opponent. On the question of authority, namely, on which side this authority lies, he has an undoubted right, upon Catholic grounds, to be heard.

Let us suppose then, that those illustrious Prelates and Confessors of the Faith, the French Bishops now in exile, are the *only lawful Bishops of France*, and that their more numerous episcopal brethren who have returned to their own country, and the other Bishops of France, who, together with them, have been appointed by the Pope to feed that vast flock, which otherwise must long since have perished for want of spiritual food, are not Bishops, yet how many in number are the first-mentioned Bishops, in England and every where else?---Not more, I apprehend, than from twenty to thirty. And can so small a number of Prelates represent the faith and support the communion of the Universal Church, in opposition to the Pope, with as many hundreds of Catholic Bishops, throughout Europe, Asia, Africa, South America and North America? For it is proper, dear brethren, to inform you that, amongst all his sufferings, Pius VII. has, within these few months, enjoyed the consolation of forming five new Episcopal sees in North America, and of appointing Bishops to them, under their edifying Metropolitan, the Bishop of Baltimore. The grand question, however, is, *how far* the Abbé Blanchard and his associates are really supported by the exiled Bishops?

I am confident they do not support him in any thing that is schismatical, or that leads to schism. They do not support him and his other associates in those scandalous propositions and proposals which I have quoted above. It is true, they think the Pope has been mistaken in a matter of fact, and has exceeded the just limits of his power in their regard; and though I myself am convinced of the contrary, and am satisfied that I have proved this in my work, called *An Elucidation of the Conduct of P. Pius VII.* yet, as his Holiness leaves them in possession of their opinion, and as they profess the strictest union with him, and the most profound veneration for him, it is not for me to censure them, much less ought I to confound them with the above-mentioned officious and dangerous scribblers. In fact, so far from proclaiming Pius VII. a heretic or a schismatic, or the author of heresy or schism; so far from breaking communion with him, or pretending that the fate of the whole Catholic Church, and the fulfilment of Christ's promises to it depended upon the publication of the two books which have appeared under their names, these Prelates, throughout the whole of these very works, hold directly the contrary language. In the first of these they write as follows:—"La résistance douloureuse, à la quelle nous nous trouvons forcés, ne troublera pas la paix du sanctuaire, n'altérera pas l'union entre le père et les enfans: il sçait que nos cœurs sont à lui; il sçait qu'il possède l'affection de nos ames. Il veut le bien de nos églises; nous le voulons aussi; nous sommes bien loin de nous séparer du chef commun." *Mémoire des Evêq. Franc. A. D. 1802.* In their second work called, *Canonicæ & Reverendissimæ Expostulationes*, A. D. 1803, they address his Holiness with equal respect and affection, begging his blessing, and proclaiming with St. Augustine, "*Præcidendæ unitatis nulla potest esse justa*

causa."—It is natural to suppose that the Abbé Blanchard and his partisans should wish to make common cause with the French bishops and clergy in general: but I have reason to believe they will not make common cause with him. My venerable friend, the late Bishop of Leon, frequently testified to me his decided disapprobation of the Abbé's characteristical doctrines, and I am assured, from good authority, that several other French bishops have testified the same sentiment. With respect to the French clergy of the second order, I have different letters from some of the most distinguished among them, protesting against the *Mock Defense* which that writer has set up for them. But independently of this argument, I could never bring myself to think that any great number of that clergy which has made such heroical sacrifices to the Unity of the Church, will now consent to forfeit the merit of those sacrifices, by contributing to divide and disturb it. Nor can I persuade myself that the greater part of those victims of honour and loyalty, the emigrant nobility and gentry of France, will agree to forfeit the glorious and consoling title of *Catholic*, from any party motive or human respect whatever. In fact, what other consolation have they, under their heavy losses and sufferings, than those which their holy religion affords them!

As to the support which Abbé Blanchard pretends to derive from the alledged total silence with respect to his errors, of the bishop in whose district he lives (1), and from the sermons of some of the English clergy of that district; I answer that, I have sufficient grounds to believe, that the Prelate in question considers it "an insult to be barely supposed to approve of Abbé Blanchard's doctrine, concerning the Pope and the

(1) *Défense*, pp. 4, 5.

Concordat," and that he refers to evidence of his having "opposed it."—With respect to his insinuations against some of the English clergy, as if they had held the same language in their pulpits, concerning the character and conduct of Pius VII. which he has held (1), I can only say, that I do not believe him, and I should expect, from their quick sensibility to the least suspicion of this nature, that they would call him to an account for these insinuations. Thus much is certain, that there is neither truth nor probability in this intimation, that, in my late *Pastoral Letter*, I charged some of them (2) with those schismatical doctrines, which he elsewhere very justly supposes (3) I meant principally to charge him with.—I can declare, moreover, that several other prelates, as well Irish as English, with whom I have corresponded on the subject of Messrs. Blanchard's and Gaschet's publications, unanimously agree in expressing their utter detestation of them. A metropolitan, of Ireland, has written thus to me within these few days:—"Blanchard's and Gaschet's publications are too openly schismatical to do much mischief. Nevertheless, it may be adviseable to warn your flock, and particularly the French part, against them. They have not been mentioned here. You may rely on the support of the Irish prelates in the cause of orthodoxy." Another distinguished Prelate, of the same nation, writes to me as follows:—"I should not be surprised if they (Blanchard and Gaschet) publicly apostatized. I remember, when I was in London, to have heard that Blanchard, in preaching, declaimed against his Holiness. I told —, as Dr. D. was absent, that the Abbé ought to be suspended, to which he seemed to agree, &c."—But what need is there of the testimony of individual prelates to shew that the doc-

(1) Défense, p. 3.

(2) Ibid. p. 4.

(3) Ibid. p. 3.

trine of these writers is schismatical, when the visible communion of all the Bishops of the Catholic Church, with Pius VII. incontrovertibly demonstrates it?

The pretensions of Abbé Blanchard to my approbation of his schismatical system, (for if he does not speak of this system he says nothing) and still more to that of Pius VII. is too ridiculous to need confuting. This writer seems to mistake his dreams for realities. Thus much is certain, that there is no reality in the stories which he tells of my correspondence with the Bishop of St. Pol, of my interview with the Archbishop of Aix, or of my conversation with himself (1). True it is that I employ several French Priests in my district, much to my own comfort, and to the benefit of my flock; but, I trust they are men of a different theological system from Abbé B. It is also true that, a few months ago, I officiated publicly in the chapel of my revered friend, who is also the friend of human nature; but the consolation which I experienced on that occasion arose from considering myself as then officiating in the temple of orthodoxy, as well as of charity and piety.

In setting themselves up, however, against the Pope and the great body of the Pastors, as these private Priests do, they profess a great willingness to enter into the merits of the cause with him and all his supporters, and they undertake to shew, that his Holiness, with all the Bishops who are in communion with him are actually involved in schism. But this method of appealing from the living speaking authority of the Church to their own false positions and pitiful sophisms which Luther and all other heretics and schismatics necessarily have had recourse to, has been uniformly protested against by her illustrious Fathers and Doctors. Nevertheless, though I also protest against it, and de-

(1) Défense, p. 2.

clare that I will not enter into a controversy with the above-mentioned writer, or any of his partisans, on the subject of the doctrine which I deliver to my flock, unless there should be an appearance of his being actually supported against me by a competent ecclesiastical authority; yet, dear Brethren, for your fuller information, and for the better guarding you and your flocks against error, I will, in as few words as possible, lay before you the principal grounds on which these misguided men proceed, and the instability of the grounds.

They say that Pius VII. has sanctioned the *Civil Constitution of the French Clergy*, which was condemned by his predecessor, Pius VI. and that he has knowingly and willingly admitted the former constitutional and schismatical Bishops, still professing their schism, and without any retraction, into his communion and that of the other Prelates, Priests, and faithful who communicate with him.—THOU GREAT JUDGE OF THE LIVING AND THE DEAD! if Pius VII. instead of being thy Vicar on earth, and the spiritual father of these men, were some obscure individual, how much would they not have to answer for at thy awful tribunal for their malicious and gross calumnies against him!—It is a notorious fact, then, that at the very beginning of his CONVENTION with the French Government, Pius VII. stipulates, that “a new circumscription of the dioceses of France shall be made by the HOLY SEE.” *Concord. Art. 2.* Is not this, both in the spirit and the terms of the Article, *abrogating*, instead of *sanctioning* the schismatical *Constitution* of the former French Government, which pretended to create new dioceses by its own incompetent power? Again, by the 3d and 4th Articles of this same Concordat, it is expressly provided, that the Constitutional Bishops (no less than the others) who had hitherto invalidly attempted to exercise juris-

diction by virtue of the schismatical *Civil Constitution*, should *renounce such pretensions*, and, in case any of them were named to Bishoprics, that they should *receive their jurisdiction from THE HOLY SEE*. All this is more fully declared by Pius VII. in his Bull, *Ecclesia Christi*, 8vo. Kal. Sep. 1801. By another Bull, beginning *Qui Christi Domini vices*, 3 Kal. Decem. 1801, this Pontiff, by the divine authority of his see, *actually circumscribes and creates* the new Bishoprics as they exist at present. Finally, by a third Bull, *Quoniam, favente Deo*, dated 29th Nov. 1801, he strictly enjoins his legate in France, Card. Caprara, to whom he delegates his power of conferring ecclesiastical institution in that country, “to make a diligent examination, and institute a process of information with respect to the *integrity of faith and submission to the decisions of the Holy See* (of course to those made by Pius VII.) of the several candidates, before he raised any of them to the episcopal dignity.” His Holiness had previously exhorted these Bishops to do this by his letter to the Archbishop of Corinth, dated Aug. 15, 1808. Accordingly, it is a notorious fact, that the comparatively small number of the former Constitutional Bishops (being only ten out of forty of them) who were appointed to Bishoprics, in the new system, did solemnly retract their errors, profess their repentance for their former schism, submit to a penance and absolution for it, and promise strict adherence to all the Constitutions of Pius VI. My friend, Abbé Dancel, formerly Professor of Philosophy at Paris and Old Hall Green, has declared by his letter, dated Paris, April 27, 1802, that he had seen the original instruments of these transactions with respect to seven out of these ten Bishops, in the hands of the Cardinal legate. Let us suppose then, that two or three of the number may, by some artifice or other, have eluded the condi-

tions prescribed them, which, however, I am convinced was not the case; and let us suppose that one or two others of them, from a point of false honour, should have denied their act of retractation, and should have again publicly taught schismatical doctrine, would all this be a new case in ecclesiastical history? Or would Pius VII. be more accountable for it than former Pontiffs were for the hypocrisy and tergiversations of the Arians, the Pelagians, and the Jansenists! How anxious his Holiness was to prevent the appearance of his sanctioning or consenting to the Constitutional system, condemned by his predecessor and by himself, was plain from his conduct at Paris in 1804, as he himself states it in his *Allocutio*: “*Nostra precipuum in modum,*” says he “*intererat de sincero paucorum episcoporum in Catholicam unitatem reditu cognocere, qui antequam canonicam a nobis institutionem obtinerent, congruo suæ reconciliationis testimonio opus habuerant, illam tamen consecuti, ita se gesserant, ut nos de germanis eorum sensibus valdé sollicitos redderent. Hanc vero solitudinem paucos post dies iidem sustulerunt. Verbis enim et scriptis, quæ nobiscum attulimus, Apostolicæ Sedis judiciis circa Ecclesiastica Galliæ negocia firmiter atque ex animo se adherere et subijcere declararunt.*”—And yet there are men of such unblushing foreheads and seared consciences, as to assert, and to embark their everlasting doom on the truth of their assertions: “that Pius VII. has built a phantom of a Church on the basis which Pius VI. had condemned as impious, heretical, and schismatical (1);” and that “he has confirmed the Constitutional clergy in their damnable errors (2).”

But, say these calumniators of their father: Pius VII. has at least sanctioned the laws, called *Loix Or-*

(1) Défense de M. Blanchard, p. 24. (2) Lettre de M. Gaschet, p. 29.

ganiques, which his warmest advocates allow to be contrary to the laws of the Church and of God in different instances.—I utterly deny the charge, and defy the calumniators to produce the shadow of an argument in support of it. It is true, that in stipulating for the public exercise of the Catholic religion which was before prohibited, the Pope agreed, that the Police might make such regulations as were “necessary for the preservation of the public peace,” *Concord. Art. 1*. But will any sensible and honest man say, that he thereby bound himself to sanction divorces, and a variety of other practices which have no relation whatever with the public worship? So far from sanctioning these, his Holiness gives us sufficiently to understand in his *Allocutio*, that his great concern in his journey to Paris, was to remove these restrictions on the liberty of the Church, making use, however, for this purpose of prudence as well as zeal, for fear, as he tells us, of augmenting the disorder which he was labouring to cure.—It will be seen in the last State Paper of the Holy See which has reached this country, that the very first motive of his Holiness for recalling his legate from Paris, was the “obstinate refusal of the French Government to make the reparation which had been desired of several religious novelties,” *Answer of Card. Gabrielli to M. Champagny*, April 12, 1808. Finally, I have very good reason to believe, that the impious persecution which Pius VII. is now suffering does not arise only from his refusal to wage an unjust war with this country, but also from his refusal to consent to two different proposals for reducing the Church to abject servitude, the one during his life-time, the other after his death; as likewise to sanction these very *Loix Organiques*. As the Pope has not sanctioned these laws, so neither do the conscientious part of the clergy or faithful in France conform to them. They act pre-

cisely as we British Catholics do, who are still subject to many laws, respecting marriage, and a variety of other points, contrary to our religion. They accept with gratitude of such indulgence as certain laws allow them, and they risk the penalties of such other laws as they cannot conscientiously comply with.

The last grand argument of the enemies of Pius VII. against him, is drawn from his declaration in the Concordat, that “for the sake of peace, and for the happy restoration of the Catholic religion, neither he nor his successors will molest the possessors of alienated church property; and that therefore the latter may continue to retain the same;” just as if similar concessions and alienations had not been made by former Pontiffs and Prelates, on much weaker grounds in every age of the Church! Or as if the French Bishops and clergy now amongst us had not themselves surrendered and alienated their titles and church-plate! Or as if the exchange of a mere unproductive title for a real and permanent provision were not evidently for the advantage of the Church!

But these men mix politics with religion, which working upon their passions, are the real cause of all the present mischief: Accordingly one of them, addressing me in the character of a French preacher, indignantly exclaims:—“Are not we then at liberty to raise our voices against the Usurper of the throne of our lawful King, &c.?”—I answer: far be it from me to dictate to him or to any one else in matters of civil allegiance, either the sentiments themselves, or even the decorum of language with which he ought to express them from the gospel chair. God forbid that I should attempt to weaken his loyal attachment to the Sovereign whom he conscientiously obeys. It is well known that I shed as warm and as disinterested tears over the sacred ashes of the martyred Louis XVI.

(for a real martyr he was) and over those of his poor injured consort, and of his saintlike sister, as he can have shed, and that I have done as much as he to embalm their sacred memory. I will here add, that in professing my dutiful allegiance to my own Sovereign, I entertain the most sincere and profound veneration for his Majesty Louis XVIII. his Royal Brother and family, who (I exult to publish it for the credit of our Holy Religion) by their edifying piety and morality, and their amiable manners, shed a lustre round them, which the most brilliant crown in the universe could not, in my eyes, confer upon them. Still, if Pius VII. had actually dethroned this Sovereign, as former Pontiffs have dethroned other Sovereigns, the writer would not be justified in applying to him the schismatical language which he has done. He might, as a subject, take part in a war against the Pope; but he could not, as a Catholic, break off communion with the head of the Church.

To be brief, I am reproached by one of these writers, in the words which Tertullian addressed to the heretics of his time, with having “employed my axe in the forest of another person;” that is, with censuring individuals who do not belong to my district. The truth is, I have censured no individual of any district: I have barely condemned errors which have been published throughout all the districts, and which I felt it my duty to proscribe from my own. The faith and unity of the Catholic Church being a common concern, to attack it in any one member is to attack it in the whole body. This is what Pius VI. teaches, after an ancient predecessor of his, where he says:—*Universalis Ecclesia quacunq̃ novitate pulsatur.*” S. Cœlest. Pap. ad Episc. Gall. See *Declar. Auctorem Fidei.*—After all, it appears that it is a matter of no consequence to these men in what district or diocese they reside, since they

claim an unlimited commission of "saving the people from a general seduction," caused by the misconduct of the Pope, of "preventing religion from perishing in these climates (1)," and in quality of "Priests of the Lord, and sentinels of the camp of Israel, of banishing sleep, and arming themselves with courage, and taking proper precautions in the same degree as *the impious one* (the Pope) exerts himself for the ruin of religion, &c. (2)." In conformity with this persuasion of the *extraordinary or unlimited* commission under which they act, they reject all the *ordinary jurisdiction* of the Church, and appeal, before any process, from all ecclesiastical tribunals inferior to that of the Universal Church, on the pretext that the Pope is a party in the cause, and that they (these obscure individuals) are at issue with him ! This extravagant presumption is another trait in which these men resemble Luther, and shews what lengths of error and schism they have already gone to. But I will give you the words themselves of this scandalous appeal: "J'ignore, *Monsieur*, quel sera le resultat de cette lettre-ci pour, ou contre moi. Mais je déclare que si quelque tribunal ecclésiastique, inférieur à celui qui a seul le droit de déposer Pie VII. venoit à procéder contre ma personne par le voie des censures de l'Eglise : à cause de la publicité de ma conduite à l'égard de ce Pontife, j'interjette, dès a présent, apel au tribunal même où il doit être jugé ; parceque je le prends à partie et que pour cette raison, ma cause suit la sienné (3)."

In conclusion, then, dear Brethren, I think it my duty to warn you against receiving, or any way countenancing the doctrines contained or intimated in the several above-quoted extracts from publications in the

(1) Défense, pp. 6, 7.

(2) Lettre de M. Gaschet, p. 42.

(3) Lettre de M. Gaschet, pp. 50, 51.

French language, as being respectively false, scandalous, injurious to the lawful successor of St. Peter in the See of Rome, as insinuating and tending to schism, and as being actually schismatical. And I caution you not to permit any person who rejects the Communion of Pope Pius VII. or who obstinately persists in asserting that he has fallen into heresy or schism, or that he has led any part of the Church into it; and the Abbé P. L. Blanchard, and the Abbé M. Gaschet, by name, (should they come into any of the fifteen counties composing the Midland District) to administer or receive any sacrament, or to exercise any spiritual function whatever in your respective chapels.—You will also be pleased to continue the Collect, Secret, and Post-communion, which were appointed to be said for his Holiness in my last letter to you, until you receive the Regulations for next Lent, or are otherwise duly instructed.

Such is the information, Rev. and dear Brethren, which I have thought it my duty, on the present occasion, to address to you, leaving it to your prudence how far or in what manner it may be proper to communicate it to your flocks, without being read publicly in your chapels.—*The Grace and Peace of Jesus Christ be with you all.* Amen.

✠ J. MILNER,

Bishop of Castabala, Vic. Apos.

THE
SEQUEL

TO A

PASTORAL LETTER,

BY THE

Rt. Rev. JOHN, Bishop of Castabala, &c. V. A.

CENSURING CERTAIN LATE PUBLICATIONS IN THE
FRENCH LANGUAGE.



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TO ALL THE
CATHOLIC CLERGY
OF THE
MIDLAND DISTRICT.

REVEREND AND DEAR BRETHREN,

HAVING, in my Pastoral Letter of last August 10th, warned you against certain *pernicious and schismatical errors*, which, after lurking for some years in the hitherto pure and orthodox flock of this island, have lately stalked forth with the audacity and confidence of the *noontide demon*, I think it my duty to inform you of the progress which these have since made, and of the measures which have been taken to repress them. I address this information to you, my respected brethren and coadjutors in the work of God, being convinced that an acquaintance with the actual state of religion, particularly in this country, is necessary for the discharge of your duty to your flocks; and I leave to your prudence how far, and in what manner, it may be proper to communicate it respectively to them; being well aware, that whilst it is requisite to

some of them, to others, particularly in remote country places, it would be entirely useless (1).

You will recollect that, upon the information which reached us at the latter end of last May, concerning the sufferings and apprehended danger of our Holy Father, Pius VII, I addressed a short letter to you, directing you to offer up public prayers for him; lamenting, at the same time, that his character and conduct had been grossly misrepresented, and that "the
" most pernicious and schismatical doctrines had been
" pertinaciously and repeatedly published against the
" Head of the Catholic Church, by persons professing
" themselves to be members of it." Conscious of his deep guiltiness in this respect, and obstinately persisting in it, the noted Abbé Blanchard published a pamphlet in defense of those doctrines (2), heaping up error upon error, and scandal upon scandal. A few days afterwards an Abbé Gaschet published a second pamphlet of the same spirit and tendency as the former, but openly professing those schismatical tenets which Abbé Blanchard had, to a certain degree, wrapped up in artificial phrases (3). These daring attacks upon the doctrine and unity of our holy Church, no

(1) This regulation, of the propriety of which a Bishop may surely be allowed to judge for his own flock, has drawn forth the unbounded censure and abuse of the pretended advocates of Bishops mentioned below. They represent me as concealing from the public at large those instructions, of which I gave three different editions in less than so many months. One of these writers addresses me on this subject as follows: "Ah! fourbe
" Sterling! c'est donc ainsi qu'en secret vous semez le poison!" *Epître aux Chrétiens, &c.*

(2) This is improperly and injuriously entitled, "Défense du Clergé François résidant à Londres, et dans le Reste de l'Angleterre, contre l'Inculpation de Monseign. J. Milner," dated June 27.---The French Clergy of the Middle District, and most of the respectable French Clergy in the other Districts, have disavowed and condemned it.

(3) This is entitled, "Lettre de M. Gaschet à Mgr. Milner, dated June 30.

less than upon the doctrine and character of its supreme Pastor, drew forth my above mentioned Pastoral of August 10th(1), and that of the Rt. Rev. Bishop Douglass, the immediate superior of those unfortunate French clergymen, dated August 24th, both of which Pastorals censure the doctrine of these writers (2), and the latter of which suspends them *ab ordine et beneficio*.

So far, however, from submitting to that episcopal authority of which he had professed himself the champion, in opposition to the Pope, Abbé Blanchard immediately drew up and printed a more formal and scandalous piece of insubordination and resistance to ecclesiastical jurisdiction than any other which he had yet published, as may be gathered from its very title page. In this he daringly defies the censure of his Bishop, even as to exterior appearance; schismatically appeals from his jurisdiction to that of the emigrant French Bishops, and to the Bishops of the universal Church, and scandalously disclaims the authority of his Bishop to grant him spiritual faculties (3). I shall have occasion to quote some passages from this work, to prove that the author closely and earnestly follows up the plan which he here lays down. The pamphlet concludes with a paper entitled, "Approbation de l'Ouvrage condamné par Mgr. Douglass," signed by seven French emigrant Priests of different degrees and

(1) The first edition of this was given at Wolverhampton, the second in Dublin, and the third in London, by Messrs. Keating, Brown, and Co.

(2) See the several propositions extracted from them in my Pastoral of August 10.

(3) "Reponse à une Lettre signée J. Douglass, portant Censure P. L. Blanchard, &c. Cette reponse établit la nullité de la censure même dans le for extérieur; en contient cependant l'appel aux Evêques de France, ainsi qu'aux autres Evêques de l'Eglise Catholique, et decline la juridiction de Mgr. Douglass par rapport aux pouvoirs ecclésiastiques."

occupations, whose names will occur below. As these Priests were all of them resident in the London district, it was impossible that its Vicar Apostolic should pass over their combined act of resistance to him, in the discharge of his duty, any more than that of Abbé Blanchard himself, in whose defence it was made. Accordingly, by a fresh circular letter, dated Sept. 13, he interdicted them from receiving spiritual faculties, or from having those renewed which they had hitherto enjoyed; at the same time warning Abbé Blanchard and his followers of the excommunication, *lata sententiæ*, which, by the general rules of the English mission, attaches to the attempt of administering any sacrament (*secluso mortis periculo*), without the approbation of the Vicar Apostolic in whose district the attempt is made.

About this time, likewise, the French periodical writers and poets of the metropolis, took upon themselves to interfere with the English Catholic Bishops in their pastoral instructions and duties, and to give them lectures upon the same. However, as the former disclaim all acquaintance with the professional study connected with these subjects, it would be inconsistent in me to take notice of them (1). But as a writer of the latter description, who unites all the venom of a libeller, with all the perversity of a schismatical theologian, professes to give the faith of the Catholic Church (2), in contradiction to its established Pastors, within the very sphere of their jurisdiction; and as he has taken uncommon pains, and put himself, or his partizans, to no small expence in circulating his illegal,

(1) See *Monf. Peltier's Ambigu* for the Months of August and September last.

(2) " *Epître aux Chrétiens de toutes les Communions en Grande Bretagne et en Irlande.*"

as well as erroneous libel, I shall make certain references to it in the sequel.—These skirmishes afford leisure to the indefatigable Blanchard (indefatigable, alas! in ruining his own soul and the souls of many others), for the grand attack upon me, of which he had some time before given notice (1). Accordingly about the end of October, a fresh letter of his, consisting of 244 close printed pages, was addressed to me from the press (2), in which I am denounced to the non-demissionary Bishops of France, and to the Prelates of Ireland, Spain, and Portugal, as guilty of oppressing innocence in his person (3), notwithstanding he more than once boasts that it is not in my power to injure him (4). The professed object of this voluminous publication being to defend all and every one of those his erroneous and pernicious positions and insinuations, which I have censured in my pastoral letter of August 10th; it could not be otherwise than that he should plunge deeper, and fix himself faster, in the slough of heterodoxy and schism than was the case before. No doubt he calls upon me at every step, as he does also upon Bishop Douglass, to prove that he is guilty of heterodoxy; but our business, in treating with him, is not to *prove*, but to *attest* the doctrine of the Catholic Church; not to *confute* his errors, but to *condemn them*. I shall elsewhere produce sufficient reasons for not entering into argument, even upon mere literary points, if I had not other more powerful adversaries to oppose, with a writer of his character (5).

(1) Reponse, p. 18.

(2) “Abus sans Exemple de l’Autorité Ecclesiastique, &c.”

(3) Though the Bishops of Spain and Portugal are here mentioned, it appears by a passage of the Author, which I shall afterwards recite, that this denunciation of me is principally addressed to the Catholic Prelates of Ireland.

(4) Abus, pp. 159, 153.

(5) See the Postscript to this Letter.

Anxious to procure the direct and open support of some person of rank and authority against the censure of the Vicars Apostolic, this deluded man boasted he had found one in the Count Pfaff, a foreign priest, who had formerly been a canon of Liege, and since that a recruiting officer in the service of government, one who has not been known to perform any sacerdotal functions or duty whatsoever since he has resided in this country. In fact, the Count took up his defence, if not very judiciously, at least very warmly. On the first of last December I was served with an instrument, consisting of eleven folio pages of close manuscript, written in the style of ancient chivalry (1), and signed and sealed by this Count with the most pompous formality. The most material points of this instrument are the following: that this military theologian “adheres
 “ to the spirit and principles of the Sieur Blanchard in
 “ his controversial writings;—that he holds every
 “ doctrine contrary to them to be heterodox, and
 “ pronounces anathema against it;—that he has
 “ discovered such contrary doctrine in my Letter of
 “ August 10th (intimating likewise the same charge
 “ against Bishop Douglass);—and that, therefore,
 “ if I should not within the space of forty days, abjure
 “ this doctrine, and withdraw my censure from
 “ the writings of Blanchard, he, this “ general censor

(1) The following is the introduction of both the letters in question.
 “ Nous, François Simon, Comte de Pfaff, et des deux Pfaffenhoff en
 “ Suabie et en Franconie,——Libre et immediat du Sainte Empire Romain,
 “ ——Chevalier d'Honneur de l'Ordre Hospitalier, Religieux et Militaire
 “ de Saint Jean de Jerusalem; Souverain de Malte,——Grand Chanoine,
 “ Trefoncier Capitulaire, Non-Dimissionnaire, et Grand Theologal de Très
 “ Noble Chapitre et Très Illustre Eglise Cathedral; Souveraine de Liege,
 “ ——Prieur Commendataire de Saint Robert d'Authye,——Docteur en
 “ Droit Canon et Civil de la Faculté de Paris,——Docteur en Theologie de
 “ la Faculté de Nancy,——et Dôcteur en Philosophie et en Theologie de
 “ l'Archi-College de le Sapience Romaine; Chef et Première de toutes les
 “ Ecoles Urbis et Orbis Christiani, &c. &c. &c.”

“ of heresy throughout the whole world,” as he declares himself to be (1), will denounce me as a *formal heretic* to all tribunals, secular and ecclesiastical, in order to my being punished as such ;” at the same time informing me that he “ has lodged a copy of this instrument with his Majesty’s minister.”—Happening to be in London about the time prescribed by the Count for my retraction, I was served by his attorney with a second instrument of the same formal nature, and of much the same purport with the former. The chief difference is that, as ministry did not think proper to take up his charges against my loyalty and civil principles, he now “ cites me to appear, within the space of three times forty days, at the feet of his Holiness in Rome, there to hear myself condemned and anathematized ;” — namely, for vindicating his insulted character, and defending his just authority (2)!—— I am sensible, my Reverend Brethren, that this detail, considered in itself, is too trivial and even ridiculous to be mentioned on so serious an occasion as the present, were it not expedient to acquaint you with the wretched

(1) This universal jurisdiction of the Count in virtue of his Doctorship in canon law, is just as well grounded as that immunity which he claimed upon a famous trial in the Court of Common Pleas was found to be in consequence of his being a Doctor of Civil law attached to the German Legation.”

(2) The following was the upshot of this curious business. My attorney having accidentally remarked to the attorney of Count Pfaff, that both he and his employer had incurred the penalty of a *Præmunire*, by serving a citation to Rome with the forms of English law (a circumstance that is unquestionably true, though most assuredly it was the furthest from my thoughts ever to take advantage of it) they became prodigiously alarmed, and the Count sent me a sort of written apology, signed by himself, in which, amongst other things, he declares as follows: “ I can only say, that I considered it (the citation to Rome) as a scholastic dispute, and declare formally, that I had no design whatsoever to uphold the Pope’s jurisdiction in England ; much less to break any positive law, of which I was entirely ignorant, &c.”——So much for the orthodoxy, morality, and consistency of this Censor of Bishops, and boasted champion of Abbé Blanchard !

shifts which the partizans of heterodoxy and schism are reduced to, in order to support their cause. In fact, I have received letters from some of their friends, who reside in the extremity of the Northern District, reproaching me with not paying due respect to this pretended "Superior, (Pfaff) invested," as he is said to be, "with extraordinary powers to take cognizance of "heresy and schism throughout the whole Church." I have received anonymous letters from the same description of persons, and the same tendency, out of Ireland, and other remote places; more, however, to the injury of my purse than of my peace of mind.

§ I.

Having presented you, my Brethren, with this statement of facts, I proceed to make some remarks, 1st, upon the heterodoxy, 2dly, upon the schismatical attempt, and 3dly, upon the illegal conduct of the unhappy persons in question.—In the first place, you are to understand that the Abbé Gaschet has not retracted any of those scandalous and schismatical propositions which I cited in my letter of August 10, nor taken any measures to get relieved from that censure of suspension which has been inflicted upon him by his Bishop, in consequence of them.—Of course he continues to proclaim by his book (1) to all the Catholics of England, who understand French, that his Holiness, "the Pope, instead of being the first and worthy "Pastor of the Church, is its most terrible persecutor; —that, "instead of meriting praise he deserves anathemas(2);"—and that this Pope, "is as much a "stranger to him, in religious concerns, as a Jew, or a "Pagan, or a publican is (3);"—that "he is a false

(1) Lettre de Monf. Gaschet, Curé de Vignolles, a Mgr. Milner.

(2) P. 3. (3) P. 4.

“ Pope, and a pretended Pope, who blasphemes the
 “ name of God (1);” — that “ he has forfeited the
 “ honour of the priesthood, with all the prerogatives
 “ of the Holy See, and all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, to-
 “ gether with every claim to the obedience of the
 “ faithful (2);—finally, that he, this Abbé Gaschet,
 “ renounces the communion of Pius VII. (3)”. Refer-
 ring to this publication, the anonymous theologian,
 who so emphatically condemns the doctrine of the
 English Catholic Bishops (4), and so confidently un-
 dertakes to “ teach the people of London, and of the
 “ whole world, the true tenets of the Catholic
 “ Church (5),” decides that “ Abbé Gaschet was in
 “ the wrong to call Pius VII. *a pretended and a false*
 “ *Pope*, because the latter was canonically elected,
 “ and, however public and scandalous a prevaricator,
 “ has not been condemned or judged : but that, saving
 “ to the Church her right of judging of his (the Pope’s),
 “ actual, public prevarication against faith, against
 “ morals, against discipline and social order, Abbé
 “ Gaschet might certainly declare himself separated
 “ from his communion (6)”.

With respect to Abbé Blanchard, though he does not,
 either in his book against Bishop Douglass, or in that
 against me, once mention his chief disciple and co-opera-
 tor in the work of Satan, Abbé Gaschet, yet he continues
 to propagate the principles from which, as I remarked
 to you in my former letter, Gaschet’s monstrous and
 revolting positions flow ; that is to say, he obstinately
 perseveres in defending and publishing all and every one
 of those heterodox and pernicious errors and insinua-
 tions which have been censured by his own Bishop,
 and by me, to say nothing of an incredible number

(1) Pp. 4, 8, 12. (2) P. 39. (3) P. 48. (4) Epître aux Chrétiens, &c. p. 5.

(5) P. 8.

(6) Pp. 15, 16.

of others equally censurable, which are accumulated in his late as well as in his former voluminous publications. The chief difference between these writers, as I pointed out to you before, is, that Blanchard is more guarded in his expressions than Gaschet, and sometimes out of compliment to others, artificially covers the poison of schism which the other presents you to be swallowed in its native state. Blanchard then continues to maintain that "Pius VII. has introduced schism and heresy "itself into the bosom of the Church (1) ;"—that "Pius VII. has formed a phantom of a Church, upon "the very foundations which Pius VI. had condemned "as impious, heretical, and schismatical (2)."—He continues to insinuate that "Pius VII. has betrayed "the faith by uniting with notorious heretics, and by "publicly professing and teaching heresy (3) ;"—and that it is a doubtful matter, "whether Pius VII. "can be excused from the guilt of formal heresy on "the ground of his ignorance(4)."—To these and his other scandalous doctrines and insinuations on this subject originally broached in his former works, he adds in his latter publication, that "Pius VII. violated the "immutable decisions of the Catholic Church (5) ;"—that "Pius VII. has destroyed to its very foundations the constitution of the Church (6) ;"—and that he "has broken the Unity (7) so much insisted upon by the Holy Fathers." In consequence of all this, Blanchard argues strongly in the same place, that the Pope is an undoubted *schismatic* (8), and elsewhere, that he is a *heretic* as well as a *schismatic*.

(1) Abus fans Example, p. 109. (2) Ibid. p. 117.

(3) Ibid. p. 91. It was upon *these insinuations* that my censure in my former Pastoral fell (for I profess to censure insinuations as well as propositions) and not upon the *conclusion* which Blanchard draws from the supposition of their being true.

(4) Ibid. p. 81. (5) Ibid. p. 14. (6) Reponse a Mgr. Douglass, p. 22.

(7) Ibid. p. 44. (8) Ibid.

The writer, nevertheless, expresses a particular desire, out of compliment, it seems, to other persons, that his antagonists may be reduced to the necessity of calling him so, rather than that he himself should be obliged to apply to the Pope these odious epithets (1).—The writer continues to protest against “ shewing any respect or “ keeping any terms with the author of the Concor- “ dat (2);”—and to proclaim “ the obligation of con- “ demning him, and of denouncing him to the Catho- “ lic Church (3).”—It is true, the author elsewhere endeavours to throw a veil over the latter passage, which may possibly be one of those that is inconvenient, or has given offence even to his friends : but then the veil which he makes use of is so transparent, that he had better have none at all. He says : “ I barely as- “ serted that it is necessary to denounce the Pope to “ the Catholic Church, without specifying whether it “ was as a heretic or a schismatic, or barely as a viola- “ tor of sacred rules (4).—Vain subterfuge ! The *act*, for which you say “ the Pope is to be denounced “ to the Church,” is one which you declare, on the self-same occasion, to be “ *destructive of the*

(1) Reponse, &c. p. 9. As a specimen of Abbé Blanchard's artifice in half covering his pestiferous doctrine, I will cite the passage here referred to at length : “ Vous dites que la consequence neccessaire qui en resulte, c'est “ que Pie VII. est heretique et schismatique lui-même. Je ne prononce “ rien sur ce point. Je raisonne seulement d'apres vous, Monseigneur, et “ je, dis ; dans ce cas ; j'ai posé le principe, et vous, vous en avez tiré la “ consequence. Or ce consequence, quelque rigoureuse qu'elle soit, ne doit “ point faire abandonner le principe du quel vous la tirez, qui est un fait “ certain. Le raison en est qu'un Pape peut devenir heretique et schisma- “ tique.”

(2) Abús, p. 110.

(3) Ibid. p. 111.

(4) Abus, pp. 134, 135.

“ *Church* (1):” and wilt you pretend that an act of this description can be construed into a mere transgression of rules, and that it does not at least amount to the guilt of schism and heresy? But we have abundant proofs in the several passages referred to above, and in various other passages, of your holding and teaching that his Holiness Pope Pius VII. is both a schismatic and a heretic!—In what, then, I ask, is Gaschet more heterodox and schismatical than Blanchard?

You will recollect, my brethren, that I pointed out, in my former letter on this subject, the ruinous consequences that would result from the schismatical system of these innovators. I shewed that in this system the Church must have lost her prerogative of perpetual visibility, and all those resplendent characteristics ascribed to her by the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the Creeds: characteristics which distinguish her from the innumerable sects with which she is surrounded; nay, that she must have absolutely failed; in as much as the Catholic Prelates of the four quarters of the world are as notoriously and visibly in communion with and obedience to Pius VII. as they were so with respect to his predecessor Pius VI. (2) I proved, moreover, that in the case supposed, we the Catholic Bishops and Priests of these islands, and of the other parts of the Church, have been dispensing for these years past a ministry of death instead of life to our respective flocks; inasmuch as we have no spiritual powers but what we have derived from this Chief Pastor (3).——To all these frightful

(1) “ Il est nécessaire de choisir: si nous condamnons le Concordat *comme* *détructif de l'Eglise*, et comme contraire à la justice et aux droits les plus sacrés, il faut condamner l'auteur et le dénoncer à l'Eglise Catholique.” Ibid. p. 111.

(2) Pastoral Letter of Aug. 10, p. 11.

(3) Ibid. p. 12.

consequences the mouth-piece of schism gives no answers at all, or such as are calculated to heighten rather than allay the fears of true Catholics.——With respect to the most alarming of these consequences, he says, that, “In case the Pope is a heretic and a schismatic, the Universal Church is not in communion with him; and in case she is in communion with him, then he is not an heretic and a schismatic (1).” But what, I ask this daring innovator, becomes of the *visibility* of the Catholic Church according to your statement, when the anxious seeker, when even the well-instructed Catholic is supposed to be unable to discern whether the Standard-bearer of the Church is in her ranks, or in those of her enemies? or, in other words, whether it is a duty to take part with the Pope, or to stand in opposition to him? But, Sir, though you make some pretension of leaving your readers in doubt whether his Holiness is or is not a schismatic and heretic, you give us plainly to understand, in this passage, that you yourself consider him as such, and you spare no pains to draw us over to your opinion. In answer to one of my charges, relating to your insinuating that the Pope is a heretic and schismatic, you answer: “I do not *insinuate* this consequence; but, in case it flows from the principles laid down by the bishops of France, which I develope, I will not sacrifice the foundation of religion in compliment to the Pope: “2dly, As the Pope may become a heretic and schismatic, the fear of making him one must not induce me to abandon my principles, especially when these consist of notorious facts and acknowledged maxims: 3dly, It is not I, but your Lordship, (addressing himself to me) who draws this consequence; a consequence which I

“neither adopt nor condemn (1).”——It is plain, then, that Abbé Blanchard considers the Pope as a heretic: now, as it is a fact too notorious to be called in question, that the great Church of the four quarters of the world communicates with Pius VII. what, according to the principles which Blanchard so much dwells upon (2), becomes of her characteristical marks, particularly of her holiness and her apostolicity? It is evident that he confines these, together with the Church herself, to a certain proportion of the French Emigrants in London, and to that *Petite Eglise* of France which is the subject of his praises (3), as a church of the same denomination was heretofore of the Jansenists (4). Again, what becomes, in his system, of all our spiritual faculties, and of those of the Pope himself? He tells us here in so many words, that he has no answer to give us on these heads. The truth is, he signifies, on this and several other occasions, in almost as plain terms as Gaschet himself does, that Pius VII. by the act of his pretended union with heretics, has lost all the prerogatives of his exalted station, and all ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatsoever (5)!

Such, my brethren, is the absurd, as well as impious doctrine which seven other foreign priests in Lon-

(1) Abus, p. 135.

(2) Ibid. p. 132, &c.

(3) Ibid. p. 96.

(4) In conformity with his system, Blanchard continues to teach, as I before reproached him, that the very existence of the Church, and the truth of Christ's promises to her, depended upon the conduct of a few Emigrant French Bishops, in protesting against that of the Pope. He says: “The Bishops of France protested against the innovation (attempted by the Pope), and their protestations have saved the infallible decision of the Catholic Church.” Ibid. p. 132.

(5) De cette exposé il résulte, que je n'ai à répondre——à ce que vous “ajoutez sur la perte de vos pouvoirs et de ceux de votre clergé, si Pie VII. n'a plus lui-même de pouvoirs ecclésiastiques.” Ibid. p. 135.

don, of different descriptions and occupations, no less than Blanchard and Gaschet, by a public instrument, adopted as *salutary and orthodox*, and which Count Pfaff and the anonymous theologian equally declare their adherence to. Not content with propagating this amongst his own countrymen, the Sieur Blanchard has long been indefatigably employed, and that not without some success, in transfusing it into our English flocks. For it is to be observed, that he translates all his schismatical pamphlets into English; that he requests his French readers to give notice of such translations to their English acquaintance; and that he distributes them about with a profusion which disregards expense. At the present time he is soliciting the English public to aid him with their half guineas each, for the purpose of enabling him to do more extensive mischief in this country.——Happily, however, the British Bishops have taken the alarm, and are at present exerting themselves to repel these exotic wolves from their folds. You are well acquainted with the exertions which the Vicar Apostolic of the London District, as well as myself in the Middle District, have made for this purpose: but as many of you may not have seen the late Pastoral Letter of the worthy Prelate who governs the Western District, I am happy in laying before you the following extract from it. “Admiring, as
 “you undoubtedly must, the many eminent virtues
 “which shine in the character of Pius VII. (for who
 “can read the documents which appear in this year’s
 “Directory and not admire his magnanimous constancy, invincible fortitude, exemplary meekness, &c.)
 “you will hear with indignation that attempts have
 “been made to asperse his sacred character, and hold
 “him up to the contempt of this nation, in whose
 “cause, as his enemies state, he has suffered the loss of
 “his temporal dominions. It is my duty to add, that

“ the publications in the French language, in which
 “ these attempts are made, have been justly censured
 “ and condemned as scandalous, derogatory to the
 “ respect due to Pope Pius VII. the true and lawful
 “ successor of St. Peter, injurious to his character and
 “ authority, leading to schism, and one of them as
 “ formally schismatical. Barely to state to you, my
 “ beloved brethren, that such scandals exist, and that
 “ their authors refuse submission to the judgment of
 “ their lawful ecclesiastical superiors, is, I say with
 “ assured confidence in the steadiness of your faith,
 “ sufficient to prevent these doctrines and their abettors
 “ from meeting with any encouragement from you. *If*
 “ *they will not hear the Church, let them be to you as*
 “ *heathens and publicans.*” Matt. xviii. 17. B.P.Thesp.
 Feb. 7, 1809. — In a letter of a former date, ad-
 dressed to myself, the same Prelate says: “ I am anxi-
 “ ous to express my utter abhorrence of those alarming
 “ schismatical doctrines of Blanchard and Co. and my
 “ cordial approbation of the censures which you and
 “ Bishop Douglass have passed on them.” And in
 another letter of a subsequent date he adds: “ I should
 “ have greatly blamed myself, if I had not entered my
 “ protest against the extravagant pretensions of Blan-
 “ chard and Co.”

The confidence with which this schismatical innova-
 tor looks up to the strictly orthodox and exemplary
 Prelates of Ireland is truly astonishing, and marks his
 character (1). After the formal and earnest appeal

(1) “ Les Evêques d'Irlande vous promettent leur support. J'oserais le
 “ dire, le Metropolitain qui vous fait cette promesse, n'y avoit pas assez
 “ réfléchi, &c. — Non, Mgr. je ne crains point que les Evêques d'Ir-
 “ lande s'unissent à vos censures contre moi. Je le crains si peu que je leur
 “ ferai tenir cette réponse ; et que je déclare ici que je prendrai leur silence
 “ pour une approbation.” Abus sans Exemple, &c. par l'Abbé Pierre
 Louis Blanchard, pp. 53, 54. — “ Quant à cette Lettre Pastorale et aux
 “ censures qu'elle contient, j'en appelle formellement aux Evêques de

which he has made to them, and his solemn declaration that he shall, for the reasons which he assigns, consider their silence as a proof of their approbation of his doctrine, it is easy to judge what their conduct and their decision will be, from the following extracts of letters which some of them have already written to me on this subject. A zealous and learned Metropolitan, writing in the name, as it appears, of another Metropolitan then in his company, as well as in his own, says : " If Blanchard should denounce you to the Irish Prelates, we shall certainly declare him and his positions schismatical." J. T. T. Jan. 21. The same M. R. Prelate writes to me thus in a second letter, dated Feb. 7 : " Should Blanchard address his schismatical appeal to the Irish Prelates particularly, I am confident they will feel it a duty to express their abhorrence and condemnation of his schismatical principles, and declare their communion with his Holiness Pius VII. As to myself, I want words to express my execration of his attempt to destroy the vi-

" France, à ceux d'Irlande, d'Espagne, et de Portugal, auxquels j'ai des moyens d'envoyer immédiatement cet écrit, et les autres pièces, ainsi qu'à tous les Evêques Catholiques. Vous le voyez, Mgr. que je ne crains pas le support dont vous vous flattez des Evêques d'Irlande en votre faveur. Autre chose est de vous avoir promis ce support général dans la cause de l'orthodoxie, et avant tout examen de cette cause particulière, et autre chose d'avoir à prononcer devant sa conscience, en présence de la vérité.——Je déclare en outre que je prendrai le silence des Evêques que je viens de mentionner expressément pour une approbation en ma faveur: approbation qui constatera l'orthodoxie de ma doctrine et la nullité de vos censures. Ce silence sera véritablement une approbation ; 1^o. Parce que les Evêques étant depositaires, gardiens et défenseurs de la doctrine Catholique, ne peuvent manquer de me condamner si je l'attaque au point que vous m'en accusez. 2^o. Parce que je les conjure, par cet écrit, de prononcer sur une accusation aussi capitale, de reconnoître ma foi, si elle est orthodoxe, ou de la condamner, si j'ai eu le malheur de m'égarer ; et que leur silence ne fera que me confirmer, moi et tant d'autres, dans l'erreur, si j'ai enseigné l'erreur, 3^o,——4^o, &c." Abus. pp. 233, 234.

" sibility of the Church, by reviving the condemned
 " Jansenistical *Petite Eglise*. I am happy to assure you
 " that it is spoken of by the few here who have heard
 " of it with reprobation."—Another highly esteem-
 ed Prelate writes to me thus : "Your Blanchard is
 " daringly impious. I have not seen his late produc-
 " tions, but the extracts of his writings in your Pasto-
 " ral stamp him deeply as a bold sophister of schism."
 J. P. Feb. 7.—A third Bishop of that country, uni-
 versally revered and beloved, writes to me as follows :
 " I see with great concern, that Blanchard and his
 " schismatical associates still persist obstinately in their
 " cause. Unhappy men! &c. I am astonished at the
 " connivance of the French Bishops at their doctrine.
 " I had an opportunity of expressing my surprise to the
 " Bishop of U a few weeks ago, &c." F. M.
 Jan. 12. The same illustrious Prelate writes thus to me in
 another letter, dated Feb. 10 : "Blanchard, I perceive,
 " continues his erroneous and schismatical publications,
 " and the French Bishops remain silent. I mentioned
 " to Dr. (a Metropolitan of Ireland) that I
 " thought it the duty of the Prelates of this kingdom to
 " unite with you in censuring them : but, it seems,
 " these works have not reached here yet."—In fact,
 it cannot be disguised that the Catholics both of Ireland
 and England look up with particular attention to the
 conduct of the Right Rev. French Bishops now resi-
 dent in this country (1); not so much because several
 most scandalous and pernicious errors in religion have
 been of late repeatedly and pertinaciously published by
 some of their countrymen directly under their eyes, as

(1) It was to me a subject of inexpressible consolation, to learn from un-
 questionable authority that my friend the late Bishop of Leon repeatedly and
 emphatically declared in his last sickness, what he had more than once ex-
 pressed to me when he was in health : "Bear witness," he said to different
 persons who waited upon him, "that Blanchard's doctrine is not my doc-
 " trine."

because they have been repeatedly and uniformly published as being the *avowed doctrine* of those most respectable Prelates, as being published *by their authority*, and even *at their expense*, as appears by the passages cited below (1).

§ II.

You observe, my Rev. Brethren, that the alledged ground-work of these foreign writers, in all their indecent, scandalous, and schismatical declamation against our truly edifying and holy Pontiff, is, that "he has violated the canons and constitution of the Church, particularly in what regards the divine right and jurisdiction of other Prelates:" though it is demonstrated that he has barely made use of that supreme jurisdiction inherent in his See, and that had been called for by the French Bishops (2) themselves, of providing against extraordinary evils by extraordinary means, for the salvation of many millions of souls. But, passing over this consideration for the present, what now is the conduct of these writers themselves?—of these vindicators of the canons?—these champions of episcopacy? —Emigrants from their own country, they are re-

(1) "Ecrivassier officieux, &c.! Mais je vous ai dit, dans le *Defense*, que j'avois été engagé dans cette honorable carrière par mes superieurs legitimes. Je vous ai dit ce qu'ils ont fait pour ma personne et pour mes ouvrages, et qu'elle a été l'unanimité de leur approbation, &c." *Abus*, p. 10.—"J'ai prouvé que ma doctrine n'étoit autre que celle des Evêques de France, &c." *Ibid.* p. 22.—"La censure que vous avez portée contre moi — a pour unique fondement un écrit (*La Defense*, &c.) approuvé en termes formels par tous les Evêques de France residant à Londres." *Reponse à Mgr. Douglass*, p. 16 — "Mes superieurs ecclesiastiques ont payé tous ces ouvrages." *Ibid.* p. 20.—"Si, par impossible, ces ouvrages contenoient l'erreur, les Evêques de France en feroient complices." *Ibid.*

(2) Lettre des Evêques Deputés.

ceived into this with abundant hospitality and kindness by the nation in general, from motives of humanity and policy, but with superabundant kindness and respect by the British Catholics, from motives of fraternal charity and religion. We considered them all indiscriminately as confessors of the faith, until Abbé Blanchard told us that he himself was always the same man as to both belief and conduct, that he has proved himself to be of late (1). In a word, we the Vicars Apostolic and the Catholic Clergy of England (among whom I hope to be forgiven if I say few were more earnest or more liberal than the parish priest of Winchester), exerted our utmost endeavours to render their situation as comfortable and respectable as we possibly could, both in civil life and in the order of religion; and it is barely justice to say that the vast majority of these French Clergymen, by their superabundant gratitude, by their submission to authority, by the purity of their morals, and the fervour of their piety, proved themselves to be worthy of all the services that we have rendered or could render them. But to return to the point in question: what has been the behaviour of the individuals to whom I allude?—these vindicators of the canons, as I said,—these champions of Episcopacy!—After submitting for a time to the Catholic Vicars Apostolic, Bishops possessing both ordinary and extraordinary ecclesiastical powers, they no sooner find certain heterodox and pernicious doctrines, which they had taken upon themselves to publish in our districts, condemned by us their lawful superiors, than, like Martin Luther in the same circumstances, they rise up in rebellion against us, insult our persons, asperse our characters, contradict our decisions, defy our censures, and undertake to teach the Catholic flocks in our place, claiming a jurisdiction independent of us, setting

(1) Abus.

up a new and unauthorized foreign hierarchy within our jurisdiction; and, in short, undertaking to reform and revolutionize the whole Catholic system of doctrine and ecclesiastical government of this island? Thus they become doubly schismatics, by casting off submission to the Vicar of Christ, the Head of his Church (1), and by opposing the lawful government of their own immediate Prelates! (2) The anonymous theologian intimates, in various forms of speech, that I have no jurisdiction in the counties which form my district, and that Bishop Douglass and myself are bound to preach the gospel in heathen countries, and leave him to instruct our flocks in England (3). Count Pfaff, of the two Pfaffenhoffsens, in a formal instrument which he has laid before his Majesty's ministers and other persons, claims an authority by virtue of his Doctor's ring, of "admonishing, reprehending, and reprimanding" all sorts of Christians throughout the whole "world;" and, in consequence thereof, requires Bishop Douglass and myself to repent of, abjure, and repair our (alleged) errors, and to "revoke the censure" passed upon Abbé Blanchard (4)." Abbé Gaschet, in the passages which I have quoted to you at large in my former letter, proclaims himself and his comrades in this country, in virtue of their *ordination*, "the sentinels of the camp of Israel, in whom silence and inaction with respect to the enemy (his Holiness the Pope) would be a fatal scandal, &c.—protesting,

(1) "Schismatici sunt qui renuunt subjici Summo Pontifici." S. Th. Sum. 2. 2dæ Art. 39.

(2) "Ii sunt schismatici qui esse possent in uno loco aut multos pastores, aut multos greges." S. Cypr. De Unit. Ecc.—"Unde scire debes—si quis cum Episcopo non sit cum ecclesia non esse, etiamsi obrepant et latenter apud quosdam se communicare credant," S. Cypr. Ep. 59.

(3) Epître aux Chret.

(4) M. S. penes me.

“ at the same time, against the authority of all tribunals inferior to that of the Universal Church, and requiring that even this tribunal shall judge the cause of the Pope before his (1).”

But as Abbé Blanchard is the great master of speculative error, so he is also the great champion of practical schism. His Bishop having thought it his duty to examine and condemn some of his errors, and (after experiencing his obstinacy in maintaining and publishing them) to suspend him *ab officio et beneficio*, he immediately flew out into open resistance, reviling his superior, and telling him that he is not bound by the censure, even as to his exterior behaviour (2); because, forsooth, he himself judges that there was not a just cause for inflicting it! (3). In support of this insubordination and turbulence, he publishes the opinion of a friend of his, a Paris doctor, whose name we are left to guess at, but who, equally with himself, is subject to Bishop Douglas (4). Previously to this, I myself, after censuring his and Gaschet's publications, had cautioned the Clergy of the Middle District not to admit their authors or adherents to administer or receive the sacraments, or exercise any spiritual function in it (5). In issuing these directions, I had strictly followed the ordinances of my predecessors, and the general rules of the English Mission (6). In

(1) Lettre à Mgr. Milner, pp. 42, 50, 51.

(2) Réponse à Mgr. Douglas, pp. 7, 16.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid, p. 55.

(5) Pastoral, August 10th, p. 26.

(6) “ Unusquisque Sacerdos in Districtum nostrum adveniens, si *quam ordinis sui functionem* peragere optaverit nos prius vel aliquem à Vicariis nostris personaliter conveniat, &c.” Joannes Thesp. Ep. (St. Honor.) Vic. Ap. Med. Dist. A. D. 1753. ——— “ Fidelibus quibuscunque, sub interminatione divini judicii præcipimus ne hujusmodi homines, *qui non intrant per ostium in ovile ovium, sed ascendunt aliunde, ad sacrum in suis*

defiance of this prohibition, and also of the sentence of excommunication, *latæ sententiæ*, attached to such attempts, which sentence had just before been republished for the information of him and his adherents(1), he tells me and the public that the prohibition "is null and void of all obligation, both as to conscience and before men, so as to leave him at full liberty to celebrate the holy mysteries, and to exercise every other ecclesiastical function in the said district, without incurring any irregularity(2)." He adds; "I shall regulate my conduct by these principles(3)."—The sentence of his own Bishop producing an immediate *direct* effect, by preventing him from administering any sacrament; and an immediate *indirect* effect, in preventing him from worthily receiving any, whilst in a state of actual rebellion against his ecclesiastical superiors, he sets up a claim (with the above-mentioned sentence of actual excommunication staring him in the face,) to independent faculties. "I have at this very moment," he says, though suspended, canonical powers and a confessor at hand(4)." It is true he here confines his pretended jurisdiction to the laity and Clergy of Normandy, and professes (though a priest of Lissieux) to derive his powers from the poor Bishop of Avranches, whom he worried in his last sickness into an opinion that he had transported into England the whole jurisdiction of the aforesaid province. But the folly, as well as the fatal consequences of such a pretension, is seen in the quotation from

"domibus vel facellis peragendum admittant vel sacramentum aliquod ab iis Petant." Benjamin Pruffensis (Petre) V. A. Lond. Dist, Ric. Debr. (Challoner) A. D. 1753. Ric. Deb. V. A. 1759.

(1) See Bishop Douglais's Letter, Sept. 23.

(2) Abus, p. 153.

(3) Ibid. p. 155.

(4) Reponse, p. 19.

the immortal Benedict XIV. which I give below (1); whence also it will appear that the coadjutor of Bishop Douglass had good grounds for repeating to Blanchard, *the territory, the territory*; though Blanchard himself had not canonical learning enough to comprehend the matter (2). In a subsequent note, however, this daring intruder confines himself and his friends to no limits of jurisdiction at all, but tries to introduce amongst us a general ecclesiastical anarchy, as to this essential matter, where he teaches that "no Frenchman whatsoever is obliged to have recourse to Mgr. Douglas to hear the confessions of Frenchmen (3)."

But not content with this invasion of our jurisdiction, *in foro interno*, this unaccredited revolutionizer proceeds to still greater excesses against us *in foro externo*, truly "setting up altar against altar;" the undoubted mark of schism (4); by claiming, on behalf of about a dozen emigrant Bishops from the different provinces of France, who, however respectable in themselves, have not an atom of jurisdiction in this country, nor any sort of hierarchy, nor canonical union among themselves, an equal authority with that of the Vicars

(1) "Missionariis, in pagis et apud rucolas commorantibus non liceat sacramenta, nec etiam pœnitentiæ extra præscriptos limites, administrare; cum ad confessiones extra confinia excipiendas necessaria omnino sit Vicii Apostolici licentia, cui illa subjicitur provincia. Etenim apud nos, etiam confessorius ab Episcopo pro sæcularibus adprobatus in sua Diœcesi, extra Diœcesim eam facultatem exercere nequit sine alterius Episcopi adprobatione, in cujus ditione pœnitentiæ sacramentum administratur, etiam si pœnitens sub sit Episcopo, qui illum ad confessiones excipiendas adprobavit. Idque constat ex Bulla *superna*, Clem. X. quæ est 6 tom. 6 Bullarii Rom. a. 4. Solus enim Parochus a Moralis Theologiæ Scriptoribus eximitur; qui, si forte extra Diœcesim versetur, sui Parochiani confessiones potest audire, quamvis ab Episcopo loci, ubi sui Parochiani se præbet confessorium, adprobationem ad confessiones non obtinuerit." Regulae Observ. in Ang. Miss. p. 36.

(2) Reponse, p. 19.

(3) Ibid.

(4) S. Optat.

Apostolic, or rather one superior to ours in deciding upon ecclesiastical causes within the immediate sphere of our respective jurisdictions.—In refusing submission to his own Bishop, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Douglass, Abbé Blanchard thus addresses him: “I have here my natural judges (as if the canon law recognized *natural judges*), the Bishops of France, to whom, I declare to you, I formally appeal from your sentence, as well as to the other Bishops of the Catholic Church (1).” “I protest again, my Lord, against this unjust act of your authority with regard to me. I appeal again to the Bishops of France, and to the other Bishops of the Catholic Church. And I once more repeat to you my protestation, that I will not confine myself to my own defence, but I will denounce you and Mgr. John Milner, to the Bishops of France and to the other Bishops (2).” Thus, in virtue of the new code of canons devised by Blanchard and Company, Bishop Douglass and myself are to hold up our hands within the sphere of our own jurisdiction, at the tribunal of about a dozen foreign prelates, demissionaries and non-demissionaries, who have accidentally met together in this island from the widely distant provinces of France! And lest any one should mistake Blanchard’s meaning in these passages, as if he here appealed to the French Prelates as part of the Universal Church, he thus emphatically expresses himself with respect to them: “It is evidently false that I have appealed to the Universal Church without any intermediate tribunal (3), since I have appealed to the Bishops amongst whom I live, and whom I have

(1) *Reponse*, p. 18.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 49.

(3) Abbé Blanchard saw clearly, by the reference in my Pastoral, that I charged this individual act of presumption on his comrade Gafchat, and not upon him; but with his usual dissingenuity, he takes the charge upon himself, in order to contradict it.

called my *natural judges* (1)." Here then Abbé Blanchard and I for once agree; he teaches, and of late years always has taught, that the French emigrant Bishops in this country hold a regular canonical tribunal, and have a right to revise and amend the public doctrinal and judiciary decisions of us English Catholic Prelates! The whole tenor of his language, particularly in his printed letter to his Bishop, on being censured by him, argues a conviction of this paramount authority of the refugee Prelates over Bishop Douglass, in his own district. "The first idea," he says, "which presented itself to my mind, in reading your letter, was, to conceive how any one *dared* to advise and solicit you to *condemn* a book like the *Defense*, the substance and doctrine of which you know was approved of by the Bishops of France? (2)" "It is *inconceivable* that you have attempted to censure a writing formally approved of by all the Bishops of France resident in London. This proves your boldness, and will prove their weakness, if they do not take up my defense (3)." "It is to you, my Lord, the scandal is to be imputed, if there is any, who, under the eyes of the Bishops of France, dare to censure their defenders (4)." For a writer who is constantly boasting of his being employed and paid by the French Bishops, to hold such public language, and set up such pretensions on their behalf in this country, is to injure and insult them still more than us, the Vicars Apostolic; it is to hold them up as uncanonical and schismatical usurpers of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, (*des intrus*).——Surely they will disavow this language, and these pretensions in the face of the Vicars Apostolic and of the Catholic Church!

(1) Abus, p. 232.

(2) Reponse, p. 4.

(3) Ibid. pp. 11, 16.

(4) Ibid. p. 20.

To make short of the matter, this meddling foreigner, professing all along the most ardent zeal for the maintenance of the canons and discipline of the Church, without an atom of real or alledged authority, takes upon himself to condemn and revolutionize the whole system of the ecclesiastical constitution and doctrine of the English Catholic Church. He is never wearied with inveighing against the government of Vicars Apostolic, who he says "persecute him for his unshaken attachment to the decisions of the Catholic Church, and who have sacrificed her immutable decrees to their ultramontanism (1)." This, on different occasions, he describes, experienced politician! as forming the obstacle to our emancipation (2)! He strongly insists upon our adopting the four articles of the French Assembly of 1682 (3), and presses the French clergy in my district to *require* me to add my name to those of the minority of French Prelates, who have protested against the necessary measure which they had invited his predecessor to take, and by which three parts in four of the Church have been saved (5). He makes a boast of thwarting me in the discharge of my pastoral duties (4), and uses his utmost efforts to

(1) Reponse, p. 18.

(2) Abus, p. 14.

(3) P. 238.

(4) That most eloquent and luminous letter of the thirty French Bishops, who were deputed to the National Assembly at the beginning of the revolution, addressed to the Pope, ought to be inscribed upon a pillar of adamant, for the instruction and edification of the present and future ages. The following is part of it: "Let but the doctrine of the Church be confirmed: let but her jurisdiction, in the institution of Prelates, be maintained: let us but receive lawful successors by a canonical mission; and behold, Holy Father, we lay the voluntary resignation of our Bishoprics at your feet, that no obstacle may prevent your taking the measures, which in your wisdom you shall judge most expedient for restoring tranquillity to the churches of France." May 3, 1791.——To this passage of the thirty deputy Prelates, some of whom are now in England, I wish to add one from the Pastoral of Monf. Affeline, Bishop of Boulogne, which Pastoral was adopted by the Archbishop of Paris; "However desirous we may be to

induce the exemplary French priests, who are my assistants in the salvation of souls, to abandon this divine work, in order to mortify me (1). He repeatedly calls upon the English Catholics, and the public in general, to support him in his heterodoxy and resistance to his own immediate Bishop (2). But when should I finish, if I were to enumerate all his scandalous excesses of this nature !

§ III.

It might have been expected, reverend Brethren, that these busy foreign Priests would here have stopped ; that is to say, would have confined their charges against the English Catholic Bishops to ecclesiastical matters, and not have attempted to draw others from subjects which they are so little acquainted with as the British laws and constitution, and the principles of civil society, as they are explained in this country. But the resentment and presumption of these men has led them even to this length. In the first place, then, it appears that they have, conformably to the formal notice which they gave (3), laid charges of this nature against Bishop Douglass and myself, and particularly against me, before his Majesty's ministers ; but as these illustrious personages had an opportunity of seeing, in our printed pastoral letters, upon what grounds these were brought

“ serve you (our diocessans) until death, yet if that authority by which Bishops are sent the Pope's) pronounces that circumstances require us to transfer the care of your souls into other hands, we are ready to acquiesce in the decision.” Pp. 36, 37.

(1) *Abus*, p. 241.

(2) *Reponse*, p. 50. It has been seen above (p. 6) that Blanchard maintains that our English Priests and Laity “owe a true and sincere deference to the Protestations of the French Bishops” against his Holiness. *Prem. Suite*, p. 510.

(3) *First Monitory of Ct. Pfaff*.

(grounds which, if tenable, would equally criminate the supreme executive power of this country), and as there is reason to believe that they judge rather more favourably of our political principles than they do of those of our accusers, the latter have completely failed in this their first and favourite plan. They then cited me, as I informed you, "to the feet of his Holiness at Rome, allowing me thrice forty days to perform my journey thither (1);" and they cited me, you are to observe, with the forms of English law, and by an officer of the English courts, to answer to the Pope upon an accusation "of teaching a pernicious doctrine in *the Social Order and in Politics* (2)" With equal ignorance or contempt of the laws of this country, Abbé Blanchard gives notice to Bishop Douglass: "I repeat my declaration that I will *denounce you in form*, as well as Bishop Milner, to the *Bishops of France*: and these are the heads of my accusations: "1^o—2^o—3^o the foundations of social order overturned by the blind obedience to the Pope which you enjoin (3)." Now the fact is, that we Vicars Apostolic do not enjoin, but disclaim all obedience to the Pope in matters of social order, civil society, and politics in general, as distinct from Christian morality, and we refuse to plead upon all such indictments at the tribunal of his Holiness, or of the French Bishops, and at every other tribunal except the legal tribunals of our country. Thus it appears that the *Ultramontanism* with which we were so often charged, is on the side of our enemies, and not on our side. In conclusion, finding that they and their lawyers had actually incurred the penalties of a *Præmunire*, they tried to make a hasty retreat, by renouncing the Pope's juris-

(1) Second Monitory.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Reponse, p. 49.

diction in general; that is to say, in merely spiritual as well as in civil affairs (1)!

The only way then left for these men to attack us on the score of our civil and social principles, is the old beaten one of the press; but as their publications prove to be gross and groundless libels, and of course breaches of the peace and infractions of the law, they and their booksellers and printers will find themselves in a still worse situation, from this mode of attack, than from either of the former unsuccessful modes, should not we shew them that mercy which they have proved themselves unwilling to shew us.——In the first instance Blanchard charges me with “*seditious principles*, which *expose* me to violate my oath of allegiance (2).” But, in a second instance, he directly accuses me of having *actually violated it* (3). He afterwards repeats the accusation, and aggravates his libel by stating false and calumnious grounds for bringing it; namely, he accuses me of maintaining, and of obliging the Catholics to maintain, that the Pope has a right to dispose of crowns (4); which, in fact, is contrary to my oath and to my constant doctrine. Proceeding in his career of insult, defamation, and libelling, he does not stick at charging me with having “bound myself to approve of the Head of the Church, “should he separate the boundaries between just “and unjust, between vice and virtue, and to oblige “the people to approve of him, should he approve of “the vice at which human nature shudders (5).”——This foreigner is little aware of the never failing indignation of English juries at the slightest imputations of this nature, and of the heavy damages they are accus-

(1) Ct. Pfaff's Letter to me, Jan. 31, 1809.

(2) Abus, p. 122.

(3) Ibid. p. 182.

(4) Ibid. p. 215.

(5) Ibid. p. 216.

tomed to give to the parties aggrieved by them. In a word, with as little foundation for this as for the other charges; that is to say, without the shadow of a foundation at all, he accuses me of “teaching the
 “ people that they may, whenever they please, throw off
 “ their obedience to the lawful sovereign; that they are
 “ the supreme judges when there are sufficient reasons
 “ for breaking the most sacred engagements——of
 “ pointing out to a lawless multitude revolt itself, as the
 “ exercise of their right, without the fear of any crime,
 “ or of the most horrible attempts, &c. (1).” Now as I should be deeply guilty, and doubly guilty from the station which I hold, were I even to insinuate to the English Catholics such lessons as these; so the groundless imputation of my having taught them is a most grievous injury to me, and breach of the King’s peace.
 ——Nor is that military priest, who is the principal champion of Blanchard and his associates, at all behind with the latter in the atrocity of his libel. I speak, indeed, of his manuscript monitories addressed to me; but these having been communicated to ministers and other persons, are sufficiently public to come under the denomination of libels. Count Pfaff then accuses me of
 “ violating whatever is most sacred and indissoluble in
 “ an oath;”——of teaching that “ the most sacred
 “ duties and rights are toys and bugbears,” —— of
 “ sharpening the daggers of fanatical parricides,
 “ &c. (2).” Finally, the anonymous theologian, who advocates the cause of the “ good Abbé Blanchard” in prose and in verse, charges me with “ anti-christian
 “ as well as anti-social——abominable revolutionary
 “ doctrine, tending to alienate subjects from their
 “ fidelity which they owe to their sovereigns, to shake
 “ the foundations of empires, to produce Ravallacs,
 “ &c.——with joining Bishop Douglass in persuading

(1) *Abus*, p. 206.(2) *Monitory*.

“ the Catholics to make relics of parricidal French
 “ swords and Irish daggers :” — finally, with
 “ preaching up the religious merit of assassinating
 “ the Royal inhabitant of Windsor (1).” Such are the
 overt acts of high treason, as well as the other detestable
 doctrines and crimes which these men publicly impute
 to the Vicars Apostolic of England. Now as ministers and
 other distinguished characters, have ascertained that there
 is not a shadow of a pretence for these charges, it follows
 that the authors of them are guilty of highly criminal
 breaches of the laws and of the King’s peace.—And
 who, after all, are these men that thus defame, and even
 threaten (2) his Majesty’s peaceable subjects? who thus
 daringly violate the peace and laws of the realm?—Far
 be it from me to wound the feelings of their numerous
 countrymen, whose merit, as Citizens and as subjects,
 is far above my praise: but persons of this description
 will not be offended with me for answering these ques-
 tions by saying of the above-mentioned individuals:
 that they are foreign emigrant priests, who have ex-
 perience the abundant kindness of the nation, and the

(1) As a specimen of the libels in question I will here cite the last passage referred to :

“ L’Anglais, que dans sa foi quelque Mulner decide
 “ Et qui fuit en aveugle un ascendant fatal,
 “ Osera, dans Windsor, devenir Regicide ;
 “ Et croira plaire au ciel par cet acte infernal !
 “ Ah ! malheureux Donglafs ! ah ! Mulner execrable !
 “ Fourbes ! qui blasphemez jusque dans le saint lieu, &c.” —

Epître aux Chrétiens de toutes les communions en Gr. Bretagne et Ireland. The printer, Spillbury, of Snow-hill, gave up the name of the publisher of this horrible libel, but affected not to know the name of the author, who, however, is pretty generally known to be a bad priest. The law would soon have made the latter name public, had there been an intention of enforcing its rigours.

(2) After a long and inflamed declamation on politics, Blanchard threatens me, in dark terms, with “ *becoming the victim of the scandal.*” Abus, pp. 177, 178.

superabundant kindness of the Catholic Bishops and Clergy; who have long subsisted on our contributions, and who now subsist on our taxes (1); yet so as to hold but a precarious existence amongst us, in consequence of an Act of Parliament expressly provided for preserving the public peace against foreigners (2). Is it for persons of this description, and in this situation, to violate the laws of this hospitable land, as well as the reputation of their particular friends and benefactors in the manner these men do? I have been strongly solicited by persons of exemplary piety and charity, to seek for that redress against these libellers, which the law holds out to me and the other injured parties (3): but I have adhered to my original resolution of contenting myself with getting them reprimanded by that office which has an absolute and summary authority over them. A promise to this effect has been made to me, and I make no doubt, from the knowledge I have of the honour and zeal for the preservation of the laws and the public peace of the very respectable gentlemen who are at the head of this office, that the reprimand has actually taken place.

It remains, my Reverend and Beloved Brethren of the Middle District in general, that I should direct you to persevere in offering up those public prayers which were before appointed for the protection and welfare of our Holy Father, Pius VII. and that I should ac-

(1) It is understood that Blanchard has an allowance from Government, in quality of a writer, beyond that of the French clergy in general. Now it is well worthy the consideration of ministers whether the public money ought to be paid for such violations of the public peace as he is in the habit of committing.

(2) The Alien Act.

(3) In one of these libels, a certain French clergyman, who is an honour to his profession and country, is described as a pick-pocket, "qui prend les poches d'autrui pour les siennes;" and a medical man is represented as "dealing in noxious drugs." The former is elsewhere termed "fourbe et felon."

quaint you from recent intelligence of unquestionable authority, that his Holiness continues to support himself under the severe losses and sufferings which he endures for justice' sake, with a fortitude, equanimity, and piety, that edify all around him, and frequently melt them into tears. It is my duty likewise to caution you against admitting to the performance of any ecclesiastical function in your respective chapels, or the reception of any sacrament the persons who have publicly declared themselves to maintain the censured doctrines of Abbé Blanchard, or who profess to break communion with the Pope, or to hold him for a heretic or schismatic, or for the author of heresy or schism, no less than the Abbé himself, and his colleague Abbé Gaschet. The persons who have openly professed the doctrine of Blanchard (alas ! there are too many secret abettors of it) are Count Pfaff, of the two Pfaffenhoffens, P. N. St. Martin (late) Vic. Gen. &c. Exup. L. H. Scelles de St. Sever, &c. F. Courte, Doct. en Theol. &c. J. de Trevaux, &c. J. Irieix de Gravier, Marc Guillevic, and L'Abbé Vinson.—And you, my Rev. and Beloved Brethren of the French nation in particular, who are labouring in the Middle District, do not let yourselves be imposed upon, I beseech you, *by these hirelings, who do not enter into the sheepfold by the door of it, but who climb into it another way.* Their aim, you clearly see, is to withdraw you from that *one Shepherd of the one sheepfold*, to whom, you well know, Christ has committed the care of *all his sheep* as well as *all his lambs*. These hirelings would fain persuade you that your divinely commissioned Shepherd has sold you to the infernal *wolves*; whereas they are the men who are *come to kill and to destroy*. To speak without figure, these men, addressing you as they do, not only without authority, but in open defiance of all authority, advise you to break off com-

munion with the acknowledged Head of the Catholic Church, namely, that Head with whom all its members throughout the world do, in fact, and visibly before your eyes, communicate. In vain do they pretend to adhere to the See of Rome as a centre of union while they abjure the Roman Pontiff, as a schismatic and heretic. For where is the single Cardinal, Prelate, or member of the Apostolic See, who at the present moment stands in opposition to Pius VII! No, my Brethren, these men have not even the shadow of a centre of union, or visible Catholic Church to look up to: their schismatical conduct stands confessed! They tell you that your edifying Pontiff has sanctioned that Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which his predecessor has condemned as schismatical, and for opposing which you have gloriously suffered persecution and exile(1).—Shameless revilers of their father! He would sooner die, and we must sooner die than acknowledge the competency of any human authority upon earth to give spiritual jurisdiction over a single member of the Catholic Church. The fact is, Pius VII. has not sanctioned, but he has abrogated the above-mentioned work of schism. He has made a new circumscription of episcopal Sees, different as to number and as to limits from the Civil Constitution: he has made this by virtue of that supreme spiritual authority belonging to his See, which his predecessors have exercised, and which your Bishops invoked. He has forced all and every one of the intruding Bishops to descend from their usurped seats, and

(1) I grant the trial to which the French exiles are called is severe; but, after all, it is God who calls them to it. Let them be as loyal as they will; but let them not cease to be Catholics. Some of their Bishops have resigned their sees from zeal for the Catholic religion, who, at the same time, have preferred poverty and exile to affluence in their own country, from an attachment to their native Sovereign.

he himself has given due canonical institution to those prelates alone who have submitted to receive it at his hands. This very submission was a solemn retractation, but not the only retractation of some eight or ten constitutional clergy who have been instituted to bishoprics. Should then some two or three unworthy Bishops amongst them have held schismatical language since that time without being excommunicated for it, such a circumstance no more argues that the Pope approves of schism, than the forbearance of us the Vicars Apostolic, in not cutting off these scandalous writers proves that we consent to their heterodoxy and schismatical doctrines and proceedings.—In conclusion, my Brethren, let us leave the Almighty to save his Church in his own way. He always does this; but commonly in the manner that is least expected. Let us hear and be obedient to the Church, as Christ commands us; and he will not fail in the promises which he has made to her.
 ———*Grace be with you all. Amen.*

✠ JOHN MILNER, Bishop of Castab. V. A.

Wolverhampton, March, 7, 1809.

POSTSCRIPT.

Having some of Abbé Blanchard's publications now before me, and observing his repeated boasts of having refuted different works of mine, to which circumstance he attributes the censures which I have pronounced upon his errors, I once for all take a short notice of him as a writer.——He is, then, one of the most disingenuous, as well as one of the most presumptuous adversaries I have ever had to deal with. It has been seen that a Catholic Bishop of Ireland calls him "a bold sophister of schism." Not content with catching at errors of the press (1), taking to himself charges which he sees to have been brought against others (2), purposely mistating the objects of my censures and the tendency of my arguments, quoting my text wrong (3), &c. he is in the habit of asserting known and deliberate falsehoods (4); and I find that others, and those very respectable persons, charge him with this habit no less than I do.——As this writer most frequently boasts of having refuted my account of St. Gregory's new circumscription of Episcopal Sees in this island (5), I will briefly relate this matter.——It is demonstrated then, upon the authority of our original chroniclers and historians, British as well as Saxon, that the Christian Church of this island was originally divided into three archbishoprics and 25 bishoprics (6);—that the two archbishops of England, properly so called, Thadioc and Theonas, remained here till the year 586, eleven years only before the arrival of St. Augustine and

(1) *Titles for tithes*, Abus, p. 150. The error is corrected with the pen in the copies upon sale in London.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 232, &c.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 188, where for *transfusions* he puts *translations*.

(4) Abus, pp. 50, 51. The writer charges me with *acknowledging* a variety of points which he well knows I always protest against, and with blaming him for studying divinity, p. 12. But there needs no other proof of his deliberate falsehoods than his bold assertion, which he repeats above a dozen times in his two late books, that Bishop Douglass, who has suspended him on account of his doctrines, actually approves of them.

(5) See the author's *Elucidation of the Conduct of his Holiness Pius VII.* with respect to the Ecclesiastical Affairs of France. Messrs. Keating, Brown, and Co.

(6) Galfrid Monumet. Gul. Westmon. Chronicon. Jorنال. Lib. Abingdon. Raynulp. Polychron, Thomas Rudborne and his authorities, &c.; and collaterally, Nennius, Bede, Girald. Camb. Hen. Hunt, Radul. Diceto, &c.

his companions, at which time they retired (with some of their suffragans, as we may well suppose) into Wales, without, however, forfeiting their claims to their respective sees (1);—that neither Pope Gregory the Great in his commission to St. Augustine, nor the Saint himself in the execution of it, paid any attention to the ancient limits of the British dioceses, but made such new circumscriptions as they found to be most for the benefit of religion in the new order of things; namely, in the case of restoring religion in this country (2);—that so far from respecting the claims of the British bishops, whether emigrants from England, or resident in their own Welsh sees, St. Gregory subjected them all, together with the Pictish, Scotch, and Irish bishops, to the number, in all probability, of many more than a hundred, to the jurisdiction of his legate St. Augustine (3),—which paramount legatine power is proved to have descended to St. Augustine's successors in the newly erected metropolitan see of Canterbury (4).—Here are acts of pontifical power exercised by St. Gregory, whom Abbé Blanchard so much commends for his moderation; of the self same nature and by far more extensive in their operation, than those of his present Holiness.—In what manner now does this writer confute my account?—He says, that it has no authority in history. But this only shews that he is utterly unacquainted with our ancient historians (5). Indeed, it appears that the only authors whom he has consulted for information upon this point of our ancient ecclesiastical history, are the superficial and irreligious Hume and Millot and the incorrect and bigotted Godwin (6).—He denies that the historians (meaning no doubt

(1) Galfrid. Mat. West. &c.

(2) Bede, Gul. Malms. &c.

(3) Interrogatio Augustini. Qualiter debemus cum Galliarum et Britanniarum Episcopis agere?—Respondit Gregorius. In Galliarum Episcopos nullam tibi auctoritatem tribuimus.—Britanniarum vero omnes Episcopos tuæ fraternitate committimus, ut indocti doceantur, infirmi persuasione roberentur, perversi auctoritate corrigantur." Bed. Hist. l. 1. c. 27. "Tua fraternitas omnes Britanniae Sacerdotes habeat, D. N. J. Christo auctore subjectos." Ibid. c. 29.—N. B. The number of bishops in Ireland at that time is incredible.

(4) Bed. l. 11. c. 4, &c.

(5) He says he cannot get a sight of the Flores Historiarum.—No wonder, when he mistook it for a child's book.—N. B. It was in his Controverse Pacifique that the writer began his attack upon me concerning this point; but he has since renewed it in all his late publications.

(6) Controv. Pacif.

Hume and Millot) have given us the names of any British episcopal sees or of any bishops who filled them. But if he had barely seen the Acts of the Great Council of Arles, he would there have seen the names of three British bishops subscribed to them, with the names of their respective sees (1): and were he acquainted with our ancient authors, or even our martyrologists, he would have met with copious records of this nature. He denies that St. Augustine was invested by St. Gregory with any other extraordinary power, except that of erecting 24 bishoprics (he should have added, and two archbishoprics).——Well, but this is the very matter in debate. For if St. Gregory could authorize St. Augustine to make a complete renovation of the sees and prelates throughout England, what should hinder Pius VII. from making the same renovation throughout France? Now that St. Augustine, and the other legates of the Holy See, paid no regard to the limits of the ancient sees, or to any other rule but the necessities of religion, all history testifies. St. Augustine made an archbishopric of Canterbury, and subjected London, which had formerly been the metropolitical see, to it. St. Felix fixed his see for the East part of England at the place, which from him was called Elington, neglecting the *Colonia Londinensium*, where Adelphius had presided. St. Birinus, who came over with a special commission from Pope Honorius, united all the ancient sees of the Western and Midland provinces, from Portsmouth to the Land's End in one line, and from thence to the Humber in another, at Dorchester, near Oxford (2). But independently of all this, no proposition can be more false, than that St. Gregory gave no extraordinary powers to St. Augustine, except as to the erection of sees; since he gave him, as we have seen above, a general authority over the several bishops of both the British islands; an authority which his successors occasionally made use of. In further proof of his ignorance, this writer says that the British bishops were Quartodecimans, who observed the Pasch at the same time with the Jews; but, that they were still in the Church by the integrity of their faith, and because no ecclesiastical censure had separated them from it.——Now the fact is, that the British bishops were not Quartodecimans, as was proved at large by St. Wilfred, in the synod of Strene-shal (3); and on the other hand, the Quartodecimans were formal heretics, after the decision against them in the Council of Nice, and

(1) Labbé Concil. tom. 4.

(2) Bede, Gul. Malm, &c.

(3) Bed. L. iv. c. 25.

have always been reckoned such by the ancient fathers (1) and by modern divines.—I wish now to ask what Abbé Blanchard has proved relative to this case of St. Gregory, which he has so often triumphantly appealed to, except his total ignorance of English Ecclesiastical History, and the parity of conduct in similar circumstances between St. Gregory the Great and Pius VII ?

As I have the pen in my hand, I will take notice of one or two other points on which this writer is accustomed to insult me.—He repeatedly accuses me of *falsifying* the Council of Trent (2). The case is: I quoted a passage from this Council (3) barely to shew that the Church acknowledges in the Popes that right of uniting Bishoprics, which they have always practised when they judged it to be expedient; but I did not think it necessary to add a long preceding passage, which points out the steps to be previously taken by provincial Councils which are desirous of such unions being effected. The omission of this irrelevant text Blanchard and his followers repeatedly call a *falsification of a General Council*. How far it was from the intention of the Fathers to prescribe indispensable rules to the Pope in this matter, appears from a preceding chapter, where it is decreed, that certain unions of benefices irregularly made, shall be set aside, “unless the Holy See shall decree otherwise (4).” In fact, Julius III. who presided in different sessions of this very Council, never thought it necessary to obtain the consent of the several Bishops whose jurisdiction had been invaded by the schismatical lay appointments of the sees of Oxford, Peterborough, Gloucester, Bristol, and Chester, by Henry VIII. when he canonically erected those sees, any more than his predecessors and successors did on many other occasions.

To crown his work of calumny and abuse, this writer charges me with *forging* a whole text for Chancellor Gerson (5). Forgery of authorities, particularly in matters of religion, is as odious a crime in the literary world, as the forgery of signatures is in the commercial world. Certain it is, that after this accusation, either I must pass for a person unworthy of credit and of associating with gentlemen, if I am proved to be guilty of this crime, or else Abbé Blanchard for having falsely imputed it to me. Now it will be

(1) St. Epiphan. Theodoret, St. Aug.

(2) Abus, p. 50.

(3) Sefs. 24, cap. 13.

(4) Sefs. 7, c. 6.

(5) Abus, p. 49, &c.

found, by referring to my book (1), that I profess to quote this passage from the celebrated work of the late Pope Pius VI. *De Nunciaturis*, who is remarkably precise in his manner of citing it (2). All then that is necessary for deciding upon the alternative here mentioned, is to compare my quotation with the book from which it is taken.—To enable persons who may not be possessed of the book to do this, I have placed my copy of it in the hands of Messrs. Keating and Co. who will shew it to those who may wish to see it.

N. B. Since the present SEQUEL was sent to the press, I have perused a fresh work of Abbé Blanchard, which is just come out of it (3), and which, if I had seen it some days sooner, would have enabled me to abridge several paragraphs of which the Sequel consists. In this new work the Abbé clearly and unreservedly charges the present Pope with being a *schismatic* (4).—He likewise strains all his rhetoric to persuade the French Bishops that it is their right and *their duty* to denounce him to the Universal Church (5), and he pledges the divine promises for the success of such a denunciation (6).—He argues, however, and this is the main drift of his book, that the Pope, by communicating with schismatics and heretics, and we, of course, by communicating with him, have lost all kind of spiritual power and jurisdiction.—This proposal of cutting the Gordian knot, instead of untying it, is clearly the writer's shortest method, if it were a safe one, for ridding himself of the suspension in which he is now bound up.

(1) Elucidation, p. 33.

(2) The late Pope refers to the passage thus: "De Statu Ecclesiæ, Confid. III. edit. Dupin, Antwerpæ, 1706.—See SS. D. N. Pii P. VI. Responsio ad Metropolit. Super Nunciaturis, p. 258, at the shop of Messrs. Keating, Brown, and Keating, No. 38, Duke-street, Grosvenor-square.

(3) "Question Importante, &c."

(4) "On nous a dit; vous accusez le Pape lui-même d'avoir institué le schisme en France, et d'y participer.—Je n'ai jamais nié la réalité de cette accusation; mais j'ai prouvé, par des principes évidentes, et par des faits incontestables, qu'elle n'est que trop fondée." Ibid. p. 64.

(5) "Ce corps de l'édifice qui soutient le souverain Pontife même, ce sont les Evêques; de là, pour les Prelats, le droit et le devoir de réclamer contre les atteintes que le Pape porteroit, soit à la foi, soit à la discipline et à la morale." Ibid. p. 69.

(6) "Mais on craint que les preventions de l'Ultramontanisme ne mettent, en ce moment, un obstacle au succès d'une réclamation adressée à l'Eglise Universelle.—Vaines terreurs que le seule considération des promesses divines doit dissiper." Ibid. pp. 69, 70.

ERRATA.

P. 5, 1, 2. *for afford read afforded.*

10, 8. *for there read then.*

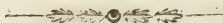
THE
SUPPLEMENT

TO A
PASTORAL LETTER

OF THE

Rt. Rev. JOHN, Bishop of Castabala, &c. V. A.

CENSURING CERTAIN LATE PUBLICATIONS IN THE
FRENCH LANGUAGE.



London :

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1809.



TO ALL THE
CATHOLIC CLERGY
OF THE
MIDLAND DISTRICT.

DEAR AND REVEREND BRETHREN,

YOU have already received from me A PASTORAL LETTER, and THE SEQUEL to that Letter, on certain late pamphlets, published and widely circulated throughout this country by persons professing to be Catholic priests, the object of which is to withdraw you and your flocks from the centre of Catholic union, to undermine the canonical jurisdiction of your Prelates, and your own, and to plunge the British Catholics into the first schism that has been set on foot among them during two centuries and a half.—Having thus, as I hope in the mercies of God, sufficiently guarded you and your flocks against the snares which were laid for you, I should not address the present SUPPLEMENT to you merely for the purpose of stopping the fresh effusions of heterodoxy and schism, which two of the most noted authors of them, the

Sieurs Gaschet and Blanchard, have lately poured forth upon the Catholic public, did I not think it necessary to counteract one particular mischief, affecting you and myself, which is announced by the latter writer, and at the same time to furnish you with, what I trust will prove an effectual and general antidote against the poison in question throughout both our islands.

In a work called *DECLARATION FINALE*, which the unfortunate P. L. Blanchard, heretofore Curate of St. Hypollite, put forth against me at the beginning of the present month, this writer boasts that he receives "a great number of letters in his favour" from the *Midland District*, and from *my own neighbourhood* (1), as well as from the Northern and Eastern Districts, and from Scotland;" adding, that "the corruption is much more widely spread than his censor (meaning me) supposes, and that he can give me information on this subject which would astonish me." "But such," says he, "is the liberty which is enjoyed under the government of Apostolical Vicars (2)!" In another passage he says, "I am not the only schismatic, since I have for my accomplices the French priests, whom the Bishop of Castabala employs in the divine ministry. To these must be added, those persons of the English flock, whom my doctrine has ravaged, and the number of these is on the point of increasing (3)." Such information, though coming from an adversary, is not to be overlooked.

(1) In a former work he had thus taunted me, "J'ai placé aussi mes espions auprès de vous, et voilà leur rapport." *Abus sans exemple*, p. 12.

(2) *Declaration Finale*, p. 58.

(3) *Ibid* p. 116.—He elsewhere boasts that "he has not been deceived in his expectation of support from English Catholics," *ibid*, p. 56.

It is too true, that a certain number of our English Catholics have been infected with the errors of this schism, in consequence of their not being repressed sooner. I am likewise sensible how impossible it is that I should comply with the obligation of my station without raising up to myself enemies amongst those whom I am serving; and I fear that some of them would run great lengths in the left hand road to do me a displeasure. All this, however, does not disturb my peace of mind, as far as I am personally concerned; I shall not even find fault "with the spies," whom Mr. B. says he "has placed upon me," should I find them out.—But, my Dear and Reverend Brethren, that there should be amongst you wolves, or even a single wolf, in sheep's clothing, who divide *the one flock of the one shepherd*, instead of keeping it together in the same fold, *who kill and destroy it*, instead of guarding it, this is a matter which touches your character in the eyes of the Universal Church, and regards the fate of your souls before God as well as it does mine. We will then unite our efforts to wipe off the foul aspersions from the clergy of the Midland District in general, and it shall be my peculiar care, as it is my bounden duty, that if the imputation which the Sieur Blanchard has cast upon you in general can be verified with respect to any solitary individual, he shall not continue to contaminate and disgrace your respectable body.

A favourable opportunity for beginning this work occurred on the 11th of this Month, when those of your brethren of the Northern Divisions of this District, whose health and business did not detain them at home, held their triennial meeting at the place of my residence, I embraced the opportunity of laying before them the calumnious charge which had been brought against them in common with you in general. They

testified those sentiments which might be expected from orthodox Catholics and zealous priests, and one and all of them, without the smallest demur, signed the following declaration :

“ Wolverhampton, July 11, 1809.

“ We, the undersigned Catholic Secular Clergy,
 “ being assembled at our triennial meeting, do so-
 “ lemnly declare that we hold communion with his
 “ Holiness Pope Pius VII. that we obey his authority
 “ as Successor of the Prince of the Apostles in the See
 “ of Rome, and that we revere his virtues; that we
 “ adhere to the condemnation and censures which the
 “ Vicars Apostolic of England and the Catholic Me-
 “ tropolitan and other Catholic Bishops of Ireland
 “ have pronounced upon certain publications in the
 “ French language, some of which have been trans-
 “ lated into English, of the Sieur Blanchard and
 “ others, representing our Holy Father Pope Pius VII.
 “ as the author of schism and heresy, and as being
 “ himself a schismatic and a heretic, and thereby in-
 “ validating the spiritual powers which our ecclesiasti-
 “ cal superiors, and we through them, have received
 “ from his Holiness.

“ JOHN PERRY, Vic. Gen.	FRANCIS OLIV. RACINE,
THOMAS POTTS, S. T. P.	ROBERT RICHMOND,
THOMAS SOUTHWORTH,	JOHN REEVE,
Presid. of Sedg. Col.	SAMUEL ROCK,
JOHN ROE,	FRANCIS BISHOP,
JOHN KIRK,	THOMAS PRICE,
JAMES TASKER,	RICH. PRENDERGAST,
EDW. EYRE,	JAMES CORNE,
JOSEPH BIRCH,	G. HOWE,
WALTER BLOUNT,	L. MORAIS,
JOS. BOWDON,	JOHN QUICK,
EDW. PEACH,	THOMAS WALSH, Arch-
FRANCIS MARTYN,	deacon.”

A few days afterwards the declaration was signed by the Rev. Prior Kendall and the whole of his respectable community at Acton Burnel, six of whom are priests, including the celebrated Dr. Elloy, of the Faculty of Sorbon, Professor of Divinity there. It has since been signed by the Rev. Messrs. Dawber, M'Kenna, De la Vigne, Morriland, &c.

From the knowledge which I have of the orthodoxy and zeal of the priests "employed in the divine ministry" within this district, secular and regular, English and French, I am satisfied that not more than perhaps one or two in a hundred will hesitate a moment to subscribe their names to it. With that total disregard of truth which the defender of the French Clergy so frequently manifests, he has emphatically declared, that "I heretofore exacted a written condemnation of his writings as the condition of my communicating spiritual faculties to my clergy (1);" and he descants on the injustice of this pretended requisition through six octavo pages. You, my brethren, know this to be utterly false. But now, when all the bishops of England and Ireland have formally agreed in censuring Blanchard's schismatical system, you will see the propriety and necessity of your concurring in the censure, and likewise of your taking effectual care that no priest whosoever shall say mass, or administer any ecclesiastical function, and that no sort of person shall approach to the holy table in your respective chapels, who professes not to hold communion with Pope Pius VII. or who charges his Holiness with being a heretic or schismatic, or the author of heresy or schism.

You know, my brethren, and you constantly teach, that the grand immortalizing principle of the Catholic Church, the instrument of her divine Founder in ful-

(1) *Abus.* p. 236, &c.

filling his promises of preserving her in truth and in unity, till the consummation of ages, is that *living speaking tribunal* for deciding all controversies, which he has established in her. This tribunal is the clear audible voice of her Supreme Head, and her other chief pastors. By this living authority all disputes among Catholics have ever been settled : whilst sectaries always appeal to a dead letter, whether of scripture or of ecclesiastical decisions, as interpreted by themselves, and hence their controversies are interminable, and their existence is of a short date. You have witnessed in all my writings on this as well as on other subjects, that I have strictly adhered to this Catholic rule, and that I have never ceased from urging that the great body of the Catholic Prelates are evidently, by the very testimony of our senses, in communion with his Holiness Pope Pius VII. and that therefore he cannot have swerved from the faith or unity of the Church, in the important affairs which he has transacted. My adversaries on the other hand (that is to say certain foreign priests, destitute of all authority to teach, yet who take upon themselves publicly to contradict and correct the public instructions of their bishops) have very naturally fallen into the sectarian method. They call upon me at every turn to argue the points at issue with them ; that is to say, to multiply books of dialect without end or profit, whereas the whole question is : *What does the living Catholic Church believe and teach ?* Upon this point it belongs to my station to speak to my flock authoritatively, and as a judge, though by no means irreformably, except as far as I speak in unison with the other bishops of the Catholic Church, and especially with her Head Pastor. In fact, these constitute that living speaking tribunal to which I am ever referring you. The innovators cease not from exclaiming : " Pope Pius VI. has pronounced upon the points in

“ debate, and his decisions have been received by the “ whole Catholic Church.” — Nothing, dear ‘brethren, is more certain, and, I believe, few English Catholics have laboured more earnestly, by their voices and their pens, to support the decrees of that holy Pontiff and Martyr, than I have done. But it is to be remembered, that *the Briefs of Pius VI. are now as much a dead letter as the epistles of his predecessor St. Peter are.* They both equally require the living voice and authority of the chief pastors to pronounce upon their meaning with respect to all controversies that may grow out of them. To be brief: it was impossible for my adversaries absolutely to admit that the voice of the Church was against them: accordingly that daring man, who is the mouth-piece of his misguided party, loudly proclaimed that the great body of Catholic Bishops were of his opinion, and taught his doctrine. He admitted indeed that his own Bishop, and other Catholic Bishops of this country, were against him, and he reproached them with “ persecuting him for his “ unshaken attachment to the decisions of the Catholic “ Church, which decisions,” he said, “ they had sacrificed to their ultramontanism, &c.(1)” But as to the other Catholic Bishops, particularly the few remaining French Emigrant Bishops, and the numerous Irish Catholic Bishops, who, in fact, form, at the present day, one of the most free, firm, and illustrious branches of the Catholic Hierarchy throughout the world, he proclaimed that all these were on his side of the question; and accordingly, he formally appealed to them, and actually sent his books to them for their examination. This appeal he has made to the Irish Prelates in each of his three last publications against me, and has urged it with a confidence truly incompre-

(1) Réponse de P. L. Blanchard, p. 18. Abus sans Examp. p. 21.

hensible. In the first of these he admonishes the Irish Bishops that "it is their duty to condemn him if he has attacked Catholic doctrine;" and he adds: "I conjure them to pronounce upon this capital accusation; to recognize my faith, if it be orthodox; or to condemn it, if I had the misfortune to go astray; in as much as their silence will confirm me, and many others with me, in an error, in case I have taught error (1)."——"You see," he had just before said to me, "I am not afraid of the support you promise yourself from the Bishops of Ireland. It is one thing to give you a general promise of support in the cause of orthodoxy, and before inquiry, and another thing to pronounce upon conscience, in the presence of truth, after a serious examination, and to make an authentic episcopal decision (2)."——In a subsequent publication he says: "I have invoked an episcopal judgment, an act of authority, in having recourse to the Bishops of Ireland.—The troubles of Spain and Portugal will render it a work of more time and difficulty for the Bishops of those unhappy countries to give their decision. But we will repose with tranquillity on that of the Bishops of France and Ireland, content to have thus shewn our confidence in those prelates, our uprightness, and our sincerity in all that you (meaning myself) have obliged us to write. I fear nothing, because I desire to be brought back to the truth, if I have wandered from it in endeavouring to defend it (3)." All this is exceedingly good and edifying: God grant that Mr. Blanchard may have the grace to keep his solemn promises!—I have

(1) *Abus*, p. 234.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 233.

(3) *Réponse à une Nouvelle Dr. Monf. l'Evêque de Castabala* in *Peltier's Ambigu*, April 10, 1809, p. 17.

only to observe, with all that respect which is due to the dignity, virtues, and the merits of the few remaining Emigrant French Bishops, that being deprived of their sees by those circumstances which obliged his Holiness to make a new division of the dioceses of France, they have no longer any flocks to govern : they are bishops and doctors, but not pastors : of course, they have no jurisdiction : now it is jurisdiction, and not the episcopal character, which confers a right of pronouncing authoritatively in the councils of the Church. Thus the decision which this Ex-Curé invokes is confined to the prelates of Ireland.——In his *Final Declaration*, addressed to me at the beginning of this month, Mr. Blanchard tells me, that “my confidence of support
“ from the Irish Bishops is an insult to them (1).” He adds : “I have appealed by name to the Bishops of
“ Ireland, and I announce to the public that I have
“ certain information of their having received my
“ *Defense*, my *Answer*, and my *Abuse*. The extracts
“ of letters from two or three of them, which Mr. Mil-
“ ner produces, have not terrified me : on the contrary,
“ their language encourages me (2).” He then endeavours to excite a jealousy in these ordinary bishops against vicars apostolic, and insinuates what he had before expressed more clearly and energetically, that if they acknowledge in his Holiness the power which he has exercised in France, he may possibly make use of it against them and their sees (3). He, moreover, tries to cajole those prelates who might, in his opinion, have committed themselves in their letters to me, to observe what he calls an *approbatory silence*, namely, to give no deci-

(1) Declar. Fin. p. 112.

(2) Ibid. p. 139.

(3) Ibid. pp. 141, 150. Abus, pp. 113, 234.

sion at all, in order to give him a pretence for publishing that they have decided in his favour ; and he has engaged other personages, of greater consequence than himself, to second these manœuvres. But little does he and little do they know the Prelates of Ireland, if they fancy there is one amongst them who would not forfeit his life along with his bishopric to save a single soul, and much more so to restore the saving religion of Christ throughout the greater part of Europe.

I shall not here quote any of my late letters, though I have several to my purpose, from the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, or from those other Prelates who have already spoken to the question in my SEQUEL. I shall then immediately turn to my letters from the Catholic Primate and other Metropolitans of Ireland upon this subject, after which I shall proceed to their synodical acts.

Extract of a Letter from the Catholic Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland to the Bishop of Castabala.

“ Since your last letters came to hand, sets of Blanchard’s schismatical pamphlets, for me and my
 “ suffragan Prelates, were forwarded hither by a Captain Malassez. The writer, and his associates in
 “ schism and spiritual rebellion, greatly mistake the
 “ character of the Irish Catholic Prelates, if they suppose there is a single individual among them who
 “ will not feel highly indignant on reading such impious productions, calculated not only to destroy entirely the authority of Christ’s Vicegerent on earth,
 “ but also to throw the Church into a state of complete
 “ anarchy and confusion. I am certain there is not a
 “ Catholic Prelate in Ireland who will not wish with

“ me to have it proclaimed to the world, as in fact the
 “ whole of our conduct does proclaim, that we are in
 “ communion with his Holiness Pope Pius VII. and
 “ with all those who are in communion with him.
 “ We also wish to have it known to mankind, that we
 “ venerate his sacred person and respect his virtues,
 “ particularly his prudence, his apostolical zeal, his
 “ fortitude and magnanimity in bearing persecution
 “ for righteousness’ sake. I can with equal truth say,
 “ from the thorough knowledge I have of their ortho-
 “ doxy and attachment to Catholic Unity, that there
 “ is not an individual of our prelacy who does not
 “ condemn and reprobate, as I do, the schismatical
 “ conduct and writings of Abbé Blanchard and his as-
 “ sociates; and it is to us matter of great surprise,
 “ that of the numerous French Emigrant Bishops still
 “ residing in England, whom we respect and honour
 “ as confessors of the faith, not one, that we know of,
 “ has come forward to censure and condemn, or even
 “ to disapprove of the heterodox theories and disorgan-
 “ izing maxims broached and propagated by their
 “ countrymen.

“ ✠ R. R.”

“ Drogheda, May 10, 1809.”

Extract of a Letter to the B. of C. from the Catholic
Archbishop of Cashel.

“ Little did I think Mr. Blanchard and Co. would
 “ go the lengths they have done. And after I had
 “ read the Sequel, I could not but feel surprised and
 “ concerned at the silence of the French Prelates in
 “ England in so important and alarming a crisis. But
 “ it is not possible that such learned and venerable per-

“sonages, who have so generously made the greatest
 “sacrifices to religion, can remain any longer in such
 “mysterious silence ; especially as Mr. Blanchard has
 “had the effrontery to declare that he will consider the
 “Irish Catholic Prelates as adhering to his schisma-
 “tical doctrines, should they pass them by unnoticed.
 “You are no doubt satisfied that no Irish Catholic
 “Bishop is with Mr. Blanchard and his followers, but
 “that, to a man, we are all against him and them,
 “and that we cannot but feel highly gratified and
 “obliged that you have taken up the pen so timely and
 “successfully against these adversaries of our holy
 “religion.

“ ✠ T. B.”

“Thurles, April 29, 1809.”

Extract of a Letter to the B. of C. from the Catholic
Archbishop of Tuam.

“The Sequel I have read with pleasure ; I find in
 “it the same ecclesiastical spirit, the same adherence
 “to sound principles which we witnessed in you before
 “you were promoted to the episcopal dignity. What
 “a time has Blanchard chosen to afflict the Head of
 “the Church ! I trust in God that I shall not fail
 “attending at Maynooth the 24th, and I am sure
 “those schismatical men will have no room hence-
 “forward to quote the authority of the Irish
 “Bishops.

“ ✠ E. D.”

“Tuam, May 6, 1809.”

On the 6th of June a Synod of the Catholic Prelates of the Archbishopric of Dublin was held at Tullow, in which, says the venerable Metropolitan who gives me an account of it, in his letter dated June 13, "We all signed a declaration of our communion with Pius VII. and damnatory of several propositions extracted from the *Abus sans Example* (1).—We confined our consideration to the *Abus*, as in that publication Blanchard appealed to the Irish Prelates, and did not notice Gaschet or others, although implicitly condemned by us, inasmuch as they advocate his fundamental principles.

“✠ J. T. T.”

Declaration of the Roman Catholic Prelates of Ireland, concerning certain Opinions lately published in England.



“WHEREAS We the underwritten Archbishops and Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland, have been called upon to declare our judgment concerning certain opinions lately published in England, and there condemned by our Right Rev. Brothers, the Bishops of Centuriæ and Castabala, Vicars Apostolical; from which condemnation a pretended appeal has been conveyed to us, in a book entitled, *Abus sans Example de l'Autorité Ecclésiastique, pour flétrir et opprimer l'Innocence, &c. &c. By Pierre Louis Blanchard, styling himself Curé de St. Hyppolite, Diocèse de Lisieux, Normandie. A Londres, de*

(1) The terms of the censure are not here given, because they will be seen below, in the following Declaration of the Archbishops and Bishops.

“ *l'imprimerie de R. Juigné, 17, Margaret-street,*
 “ *Cavendish-square. Se vend chez M. De la Roche,*
 “ *5, King-street, Portman-square; et chez l'Auteur,*
 “ *81, High-street, Mary-le-bone, 1808.*

“ And whereas the said Pierre Louis Blanchard has
 “ signified in his said book, that he will consider our
 “ silence as an approbation of the opinions therein as-
 “ serted, and already mentioned to have been con-
 “ demned :

“ For these reasons, We have thought it expedient,
 “ without entertaining the said pretended appeal,
 “ which we declare to be irregular, nugatory, and in-
 “ valid, to take into consideration the reasons al-
 “ ledged by the said pretended appellant; and having
 “ examined the propositions hereafter set down, as well
 “ separately taken, as compared with the context of
 “ the above-mentioned work of the said Pierre Louis
 “ Blanchard, We have unanimously agreed to the fol-
 “ lowing resolutions :

“ *First,* We profess and teach that Pius VII. the
 “ now Bishop of Rome, is the true and supreme Pastor
 “ of the Catholic Church, that We adhere to him as
 “ the undoubted successor of Peter, and that he is
 “ fully and justly in possession of all spiritual powers,
 “ which, by reason of the Primacy divinely established
 “ in the Church of Christ, of right belong to the
 “ Chief Bishop of Christians, and to the Teacher of
 “ all Christians.

“ *Secondly,* We declare, that adhering, as We
 “ have done from the beginning, to the dogma-
 “ tical decisions of Pius VI. of holy remembrance,
 “ concerning the so called *Civil Constitution of*
 “ *the Clergy of France*, and judging, after those de-
 “ cisions, that the said Constitution was impious in
 “ its suggestions, heretical in its pretensions, schis-

“ matical in several of its provisions, and on the whole
 “ to be rejected ; We judge at the same time that our
 “ holy Father Pius VII. has not meant to approve, and
 “ by no colour or inference has he approved of the er-
 “ rors, heresies, or impious principles contained in the
 “ said *Civil Constitution of the Clergy*, or of any of
 “ them : but that, especially in his measure for the re-
 “ storation of Catholic Unity, and the peaceful exercise
 “ of true religion in France, he has adhered to that which
 “ was dogmatical in the said decisions of his predecessor,
 “ and that he has only yielded what the dreadful exi-
 “ gencies of the times demanded from a true Shepherd
 “ of the Christian Flock, in commiseration of *such days*
 “ *as had never appeared from the beginning of the*
 “ *world, and if they had not been shortened on*
 “ *account of the elect, all flesh would not have been*
 “ *saved.*

“ *Thirdly*, We declare, that in the Pontifical Acts
 “ already mentioned of Pius VII. he has validly, and
 “ agreeably to the Spirit of the Sacred Canons, exerted
 “ the powers belonging to the Apostolical See ; that
 “ he has effectually restored the Catholic Christians of
 “ France to the visible body of the Church, and that
 “ he has thereby imparted to them a true Communion
 “ with the Universal Church, that being restored to
 “ God through Christ, they may have remission of
 “ their sins in the Holy Spirit : And we accept, ap-
 “ prove, and concur with the said Acts of Pius VII.
 “ as good, rightful, authentic, and necessary, inspired
 “ by charity, and done in the faith of his predecessor.

“ As we are willing and prompt to make this decla-
 “ ration in testimony of the One Catholic Church, and
 “ in the defence of its visible Head, Pius VII. *for*
 “ *whose deliverance*, as formerly for that of Peter, *the*
 “ *prayer of the Church is unceasingly offered up to*
 “ *God*, so it is with unfeigned grief we find our-

“ selves compelled to reprehend the works or assertions
 “ of a man, who appears to have belonged to that glo-
 “ rious Church of France, which in these last days has
 “ crowned its Faith by Confession, and its Confession
 “ by Martyrdom ; in the sufferings of which We sor-
 “ rowed, and for the deliverance of which We prayed :
 “ but being reduced to the necessity of either acting
 “ with pastoral authority and animadversion, or sur-
 “ rendering the sacred trust confided to us, We follow
 “ the example of him who has said : *If thy right eye*
 “ *scandalize thee, pluck it out and cast it forth from*
 “ *thee ; and again, unless a man hate his very soul, he*
 “ *cannot be my disciple.*

“ Wherefore, having seen the following propositions
 “ asserted by the said Pierre Louis Blanchard, and
 “ having examined them, we declare them respec-
 “ tively FALSE, CALUMNIOUS, and SCANDALOUS,
 “ inasmuch as they regard the acts of Pius VII.
 “ in his Restoration and Settlement of the Churches
 “ of France, and manifestly tending to schism, most
 “ dangerous at this time to the peace and unity of the
 “ Catholic Church, exciting and inviting to schism,
 “ not alone schismatical, but dogmatizing schism,
 “ usurping ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and subversive
 “ of Church authority.

“ The propositions are these following :

Page 38, “ L'Eglise du Concordat n'est pas Ca-
 “ tholique.

Page 60, “ L'Hérésie vient d'obtenir en France un
 “ triomphe complet, et Pie VII. en est la première et
 “ la principale cause.

P. 95. “ Une Eglise aussi complètement asservie
 “ ne peut-être l'Eglise de Jésus-Christ.

P. 99. “ Les Evêques Concordataires doivent être
 “ évités par les fidèles jaloux d'operer leur salut.

Ibid. “ Ils n'ont pas reçu de Jésus-Christ les pouvoirs

“ essentiellement libres dans leur principe et dans leur
 “ exercice.

P. 109. “ Un des sujets de leur justes plaintes (des
 “ Evêques de France), c’est que Pie VII. par sa
 “ foiblesse, ait introduit le schisme même et l’hérésie
 “ dans le sein de l’Eglise.

P. 134. “ Quant à ce Pape (Pius VII.) Je dis seule-
 “ ment qu’il faut le denoncer a l’Eglise Catholique,
 “ encore sans spécifier si c’est comme hérétique et
 “ schismatique, ou uniquement pour avoir violé les
 “ règles saintes.

P. 137. “ Pie VII. seroit hérétique et schismatique
 “ par l’abandon et même par le mépris d’une décision
 “ solemnelle de l’Eglise :

“ This proposition separately taken is equivocal ; but
 “ it is to be considered along with the three following :

P. 62. “ Nous avons donc dans la décision de
 “ Pie VI. contre la Constitution civile du Clergé,
 “ celle de l’Eglise universelle même.

P. 117. “ Pie VII. par la formation de l’Eglise Con-
 “ cordataire a, en effet, révoqué les brefs de son pre-
 “ décesseur, et admis les principes fondamentaux de
 “ la *Constitution civile du Clergé*.

Ibid. “ Comment Pie VII. a-t-il formé ce fantome
 “ d’Eglise ? Il l’a formé sur les bases mêmes que Pie VI.
 “ avoit condamnées comme impies, hérétiques et
 “ schismatiques.

“ These Propositions we reject and condemn, with-
 “ out approving or intending to approve many other
 “ propositions maintained by the said P. L. Blanchard
 “ as connected with the foregoing, and without enter-
 “ taining, as We have already declared, the said pre-
 “ tended appeal, or approving of it in form or sub-
 “ stance.

" In testimony of all which We, the aforesaid
 " Archbishops and Bishops have signed our names to
 " this our Solemn Declaration and Decision."

" *Dublin, 3d July, 1809.*"

" *Richard O'Reilly, D. D. J. T. Troy, D. D. Dublin.*
Armagh. Daniel Delany, D. D. Kil-
Thomas Bray, D. D. Cashell. dare and Leighlin.
Francis Moylan, D. D. Cork. James Lanigan, D. D. Ossory.
P. J. Plunket, D. D. Meath. F. French, D. D. Elphin.
John Cruise, D. D. Ardagh. T. Costello, D. D. Clonfert.
John Power, D. D. Water- John Flynn, D. D. Elect,
ford and Lismore. Achonry.
Flor. Mac Carthy, D. D. Patrick Ryan, D. D. Ger-
Antinoe, Coad. Cork. manicia, Coad. Ferns.
E. Dillon, D. D. Tuam. Daniel Murray, D. D.
J. Caulfield, D. D. Ferns. Coad. Elect, Dublin."

" I hereby certify that the underwritten Prelates, not
 " present at the assembly of their brethren on the 3d of
 " July, have approved the foregoing solemn Declara-
 " tion and Decision; and authorised me by their re-
 " spective letters, to affix their signatures thereto."

" *J. T. TROY, D. D. Dublin.*"

" *August 21, 1809.*"

" *Wm. Coppinger, D. D. C. Sughrue, D. D. Kerry.*
Cloyne and Ross. James Murphy, D. D. Clog-
P. MacMullen, D. D. her.
Down and Connor. J. O'Shaughnessy, D. D.
E. Derry, D. D. Dromore. Kilalloe.
Chas. O'Donnell, D. D. P. Mac Loughlin, D. D.
Derry. Raphoe.
N. J. Archdeacon, D. D. F. Reilly, D. D. Kilmore.
Kilmacduagh and Kil- Val. Bodkin, D. D. Ward,
fenora. Galway."

Dominick Bellew, D. D.
Kilalla.

John Young DD Limerick

Thus, you see, my beloved Brethren, that the schismatical system of this turbulent anarchist, who had refused submission to the decisions of his own Bishop, supported by that of all the Bishops in this country, has been distinctly, emphatically, and unanimously condemned by the whole Catholic hierarchy of Ireland, to which he had three times solemnly appealed. Never did Providence afford a more timely succour to his Church, or at least to our portion of it, than in this act of the vigilance, charity, and zeal of those exemplary prelates. But what part will the unhappy leader of schism now act? He is deeply pledged, as you have seen above, to stand by the decision of the French emigrant Bishops and of the Catholic Bishops of Ireland. The former, who are few (1), unconnected, and destitute of every degree of spiritual jurisdiction, are totally silent as to the appeal of the *Sieur Blanchard*. Indeed they are not known to have opened their lips at all in public, since the 6th of April, 1803, when, addressing Pius VII. in the words of St. Jerom, they exclaimed: “*Qui- cumque tecum non colligit spargit* (2):” words more edifying, more apposite, more replete with salutary doctrine, never were uttered! On the other hand, the Irish Bishops, who are numerous, and who form a complete and efficient hierarchy, have spoken clearly and unanimously, and their decision confirms the judgment of their brethren, the Catholic Pre-

(1) There are, at present thirteen, emigrant French Bishops in England from the different provinces of France, besides one other who resigned his sees at the requisition of the Pope, and another who has not been consecrated. Independently of these, there may be six or eight other demissionary and non-demissionary French Bishops still alive in the different countries of the continent.

(2) “Whofoever doth not gather with thee scattereth abroad.”—*Canonicæ et Rev. Expost.* . 3.

lates of this country (1). Will Abbé Blanchard now stand to his engagements, and submit? I earnestly pray to God that he may do so, for the safety of his own soul, and of many others!—Or will he say (in those two pages of a French journal with which he threatens me) (2), that the whole Catholic Church of Ireland, as well as that of England, is concordatist, schismatical, and heretical, “by communicating with Pius VII. and the Churches with which he communicates,” and that he himself is supported by the express declarations of a number of prelates? And who think you are those prelates whom Abbé Blanchard presses into his service?—They are Bishop Douglass, (3), myself (4), the Irish Bishops (5), and Pope Pius VII. (6). —But to have done with dialectical quibbles, and to refer to the maxim with which I began: will any sincere Catholic, whether French or English, now lay his hand upon his heart, and say, in the presence of the God who is to judge him, that he does not know whether the prelates of the Catholic Church are on the side of his Holiness Pope Pius VII. or on that of the *Sieur* Blanchard? To the serious and conscientious consideration of all such sincere Catholics, whether French or English, I wish to recommend the letter which a justly celebrated Bishop of Ireland addressed to an emigrant metropolitan of France, on behalf of himself and his brethren, in answer to that metropolitan’s call upon the Irish prelates to sign the Memorial and Protest which he and the other emigrant Bishops had drawn

(1) From the Letters of different Catholic Bishops of the different provinces of North America, lately received, it appears that the churches of that extensive country have taken a just alarm at the idea of being infected with Blanchardism, and that they likewise have taken due precautions against it.

(2) Declar. p. 155. (3) Ibid pp. 36, 60, (4) P. 65. (5) P. 141.
(6) P. 115.

up, and were about to transmit to his Holiness. It is impossible to treat the subject with more luminous precision, or more winning eloquence and charity than is here done. I have before me a copy of the letter in the hand writing of the Irish prelate.

*Copy of a Letter from an Irish Catholic Bishop to the
late Archbishop of ———.*

“ MY LORD,

“ I had the honour of receiving last Month your
“ Grace’s obliging letter with the packet forwarded to me
“ by Messrs. Keating and Brown, for which my warmest
“ thanks are due, and are now offered to your Grace. I
“ immediately communicated the *Memorial* to our Pre-
“ lates, and waited to have their sentiments thereon, in
“ order to answer your Grace’s letter.—They consider,
“ very justly, the production as very learned, replete with
“ ecclesiastical knowledge, and containing the strongest
“ proofs of the divine right of Bishops to govern indivi-
“ dually the particular portion of the Church committed
“ to their care, and collectively (in a general Council) the
“ whole Church of Christ.—It proves also the indissolubi-
“ lity in *ordinary cases* of the bond by which a Bishop is
“ connected with his Church : but they are of opinion,
“ that it does not prove the *incompetency* of the Chief
“ Bishop to act in an *extraordinary case* towards a Na-
“ tional Church, as his present Holiness has lately done
“ with respect to the Church of France.—They think,
“ that had he not, under existing circumstances, acted as
“ he has done, that once most flourishing portion of the
“ Church would have been left for ever a prey to schism
“ and infidelity (as England has unfortunately been) by
“ the establishment of some schismatical or heretical

“sect as the national religion of the country.—They
 “consider the separation of so many most venerable
 “Bishops and Confessors of the faith from flocks
 “so dear to them, and by whom they were so much
 “loved and revered, as an evil of great magnitude: but
 “can it be compared with the loss of true religion to a
 “whole nation?—Bishops may be replaced, but for the
 “true faith no succedaneum can be found. — They la-
 “ment exceedingly the dire necessity that forced his
 “Holiness to adopt so extraordinary a measure, and
 “sincerely sympathize with your Grace and your
 “venerable Confreres, on the affliction you must feel
 “on the occasion. — They trust, however, in God’s
 “infinite goodness, that he will protect so valuable a
 “portion of his Church, under the special protection
 “of the Queen of Heaven, watered, as it has been of
 “late, by the blood of so many martyrs, and dignified
 “by the most heroic and exemplary conduct of such
 “multitudes of holy confessors and virgins, so as to
 “restore it to its former splendour, and to dispel the
 “dark cloud, which, alas! covers it in the present
 “unhappy times. — This is and shall be the constant
 “subject of our most fervent prayers, & c.

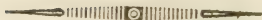
“✠ N. N.”

I have nothing more to add at present, my Dear and
 Reverend Brethren, except the prayer of the Apostle,
 that *The Peace of God may be with you.* Amen.

✠ J. M. Castabalensis, V. A.

Wolverhampton,
July 22, 1809.

NOTES.



BEING actually in the press, for the purpose of communicating to my flock the important and decisive documents seen above, I have thought it worth while to add a few notes on the latest productions against me of those wretched rivals in the career of heterodoxy and schism, Messrs. Blanchard and Gaschet, which otherwise I probably should have passed by unnoticed. The former of them gives notice, that there will soon be a contest, in his party, who of them is my chief adversary (1). The fact is, the contest is already begun (2); but with such unequal pretensions, that there is not the shadow of a doubt but the unfortunate schismatics of the day will rank with the Donatists and Luciferians, under the title of *Blanchardists*.—Both these writers are for ever boasting of their respective victories in the theological warfare. If we believe them, they beat down and “*pulverize*” their opponents, whether they are private writers, such as *L’Amis de la Verité* and the author of the *Dialogue*, or Bishops instructing their flocks, or Popes issuing briefs to the Church. But it is fit they should know that such vapouring and trumpeting passes here in England for a symptom of defeat, not of victory.

(1) Declaration Finale de Mons. Blanchard, p. 32.

(2) Lettres Apologetique de M. Gaschet. See Lettres 4, 5, 6.

In a work which I published in 1802, called *An Elucidation of the late Briefs of Pope Pius VII. &c.* I shewed that the conduct of his Holiness, in new modelling the Church of France, was not absolutely without a parallel in church history, as St. Gregory the Great, on the happy event of the restoration of religion in this island, by the conversion of our Saxon ancestors, had done the same thing; namely, he gave authority to his legate, St. Augustine, to erect new bishoprics throughout the heptarchy, without paying the least respect to the circumscription of bishoprics which had been established at the conversion of the Britons four centuries before, and which had subsisted down to his times. I proved the existence of such a British hierarchy from the testimony of several of our original writers, and even from the acts of the Council of Arles, where the names and the sees of those British Bishops are recorded.—In what manner now does Mr. Blanchard *pulverize* my arguments? Why he says that Godwin, a modern writer of inferior credit, has started doubts concerning this British hierarchy.—It is true, that Godwin, out of hatred to the Catholic religion, makes some weak efforts to discredit the universally attested fact of the light of Christianity having first been spread throughout this island by missionaries from Pope Eleutherius in the second century; but with respect to the point at issue, the existence of British Bishops and British Sees at the time when St. Gregory gave St. Augustine a commission to erect bishoprics and appoint Bishops throughout the land, namely, at the end of the sixth century, so far from Godwin denying this, he bears express testimony to it (no less than the original authors do), in the following passage, among several others: “At the coming in
“ of the Saxons the succession of Archbishops was still
“ continued in London; but secretly, even until

“ the time that St. Gregory sent Augustine hither.
 “ I find only one of their names, Theonas, who being
 “ first Bishop of Gloucester, forsook it, and took the
 “ charge of London. The year 586, he, with Thadio-
 “ cus, Bishop of York, taking their clergy with them,
 “ got them into Wales and Cornwall to the rest of their
 “ countrymen, whom the Saxons had driven thi-
 “ ther (1).” “ Well,” says Mr. B. “ but it is possi-
 “ ble that these bishops may have died in the interval
 “ between 586 and 597. Again, it is not proved that
 “ St. Gregory was acquainted with the existence of
 “ British Bishops in this island when he sent St. Au-
 “ gustine hither (2).”——To answer this writer’s pur-
 pose, however, as he well knows, it is necessary to
 suppose, not only that the British Archbishops of Lon-
 don and York, but that all the other British Bishops,
 with all their clergy, had died in the course of eleven
 years! As to St. Gregory’s supposed ignorance of the
 actual existence of a prior hierarchy in this island, so
 far from this being the case, he had actually instructed
 St. Augustine how to treat with the bishops composing
 it. The fact is, he thought it necessary, in the exist-
 ing circumstances, to new model them as well as their
 sees, by subjecting them all to the jurisdiction of this his
 legate (3). I have so often referred to the clear testimo-
 nies of all this in the Epistles of St. Gregory, the Ec-

(1) See Godwin’s Catalogue of Bishops, 4to. p. 182, and his *Commentarius de Præfultibus*, folio, p. 170.

(2) *Declarat.* p. 10.

(3) “ Britanniarum omnes episcopos tuæ fraternitati committimus ut in-
 “ docti doceantur, infirmi persuasione roberentur, perversi auctoritate corri-
 “ gantur.” *Bed. Eccl. Hist. L. i. c. 27.*——“ Tua fraternitas non
 “ solum eos episcopos quos ordinaverit, neque eos tantum qui Eboraci per
 “ Episcopum fuerint ordinati, sed etiam omnes Britanniae sacerdotes ha-
 “ beat, Deo D. N. J. Christo auctore, subiectos.” *Ibid. c. 29.*

clesiastical History of Venerable Bede, &c. that it would be tiresome to repeat them here. In fact, Mr. B. does not attempt to oppose any thing else to them, except gratuitous and absurd suppositions, and ridiculous vaunting that his victory over me is more complete than ever !

Another of his pretended triumphs regards the Council of Trent, which he accuses me of having falsified ; and he gives us to understand, that by means of this accusation he has succeeded in making many English as well as French people entertain a very bad opinion of me (1). The question is, whether a certain process of inquiry and examination which the council appoints to be made by those provincial bishops who are desirous of having certain poor bishoprics united together, regards only the bishops, or is binding also on the Pope himself, in such sort that no union of bishoprics made by him is to be reputed valid, unless this process has taken place ? It is unnecessary to mention which opinion he maintains and which I maintain ; but it is necessary to observe that, in consequence of my not swelling my page with a long quotation which no way regarded the point in question, he accuses me of having *falsified a General Council*. I wish the learned to peruse the whole 13th canon of session xxiv. as well as the whole 6th canon of session vii. and to judge from the context. In the mean time, I once more assert that it is demonstratively clear, from the clauses of the former canon which I actually quoted, that even in the particular case there treated of, namely, *when the question is about uniting sees together on account of their poverty*, the Pope is not bound by the process in question, or by the opinion, vote, or petition of the provincial bishops ; in as much as the whole business is after all

(1) Declar. p. 17.

left to his prudence. He is to judge whether it is prudent to make the proposed union or not: "Quibus
 " (instrumentis) instructus summus Pontifex, EX
 " PRUDENTIA SUA, PROUT EXPEDIRE JU-
 " DICAVERIT, aut tenues invicem uniat, aut aliquâ
 " accensione ex fructibus augeat."—In confirmation
 of this doctrine, I shewed that Julius III. who presided
 in different sessions of the Council of Trent, neither by
 himself nor by his legate Cardinal Pole, instituted any
 such process, or once consulted the parties interested,
 when he gave a canonical existence to the five English
 bishoprics which had been schismatically dismembered
 from the sees of Lincoln, Ely, Salisbury, &c. by Henry
 VIII. Here the Abbé finds himself completely gravelled,
 and is reduced to say that these erections were
 made at the request of Parliament, and that the bishops
 interested had votes in it. But is an English Parlia-
 ment then that provincial Council of Bishops which
 the Fathers of the Council of Trent speak of? And did
 this very Parliament call before it the parties interested
 in the changes, such as the abbots and monks of Glou-
 cester, Chester, Peterborough, &c. whose monasteries
 had been dissolved, and whose property had been
 alienated in order to create those sees? Again, when
 four years after the thirteen new sees in the Low Coun-
 tries were circumscribed by the succeeding Pope,
 Paul IV. history testifies that this was done, not only
 without the consent, but also in direct opposition to the
 remonstrances of the Archbishop of Rheims, the King
 of France, the abbots of several monasteries, and of
 many other parties deeply interested in the changes (1).
 Nevertheless, the evident interest of the Church, the

(1) See the Continuator of Fleury, Bercaſtel's Hiſt. Eccl. and De Brant's
 Hiſt. des Pays Bas ad an. 1559.

prerogative of the Pope of acting *ex certa scientiâ* in this particular business, and the support of Philip II. bore down all opposition, and the new creations were admitted to be valid on all hands. It being then so demonstratively plain, from the context of the canon and the actual discipline of the Church, that the process mentioned in can. xiii. sess. 24. does not regard the Pope, it would have been superfluous and foolish in me to have quoted it in the passage alluded to. Still my adversary does not blush to proclaim me a corrupter of the General Councils.

In the same work I had cited an authority of Gerson, from the celebrated work of Pius VI. *De Nunciaturis* (1).—In return, this advocate of bishops charged me in express terms and repeatedly with having *forged* it (2). I then sent the work itself which I had quoted to London, to be deposited in the shop of my printer, where A. B. saw it and verified the quotation. Still he refuses to retract the foul charge of forgery : and upon what pretext does he refuse it?—He says, “ *Perhaps* “ Pius VI. did not write his own book : *perhaps* some “ Ultramontain induced him to insert this spurious “ passage : *perhaps* and *perhaps* (3).” In short, he gives you to understand that you may adopt any *perhaps* you please, provided only you will agree with him in calling me a forger, and Pius VI. (yes, the identical Pius VI. no less than Pius VII.) “ a pretender” to rights which do not belong to him, and a usurper on the rights of Catholic Bishops (4). I have hitherto disdained to take notice of two other pretended falsifications with which this calumniator has charged me.—I barely said that “ Pius VI. had exercised his right in the

(1) Elucid. p. 33.

(2) Abus, p. 49, &c.

(3) Declar. p. 19, note.

(4) Ibid.

“erection of the new see of Moulins (1):” meaning thereby that the old French government, which had contested so many rights of the Holy See, had not contested this.—Now what turn does B. give to this simple expression?—He exclaims that I am a *falsifier*, because I did not give the whole history of the creation, which no way regarded my subject.—Again, I said that, by the Concordat it is expressly provided that the constitutional bishops, who had heretofore pretended to exercise a jurisdiction which they did not possess, should renounce such pretensions, and, in case any of them were named to bishoprics, that they should receive their jurisdiction from the Pope (2). Now the plain fact is, that such provisions are actually made in the Concordat; in as much as it is there provided that all the dioceses of France shall be circumscribed afresh *by the Pope*, which annihilates those formed by the National Assembly; and that all the bishops shall take out their jurisdiction from him, which is to abandon that jurisdiction which they had hitherto claimed in opposition to him. But, because I did not give the very words of the instrument, which I never professed to do, but satisfied myself with giving the sense of it, this shameless man calls me a *falsifier of the Concordat* (3).—The fact is, the grand resource of this restless scribbler is dialectical quibbling, an art in which I have neither leisure nor inclination to contend with him. By means of this he undertakes to prove that I “have denounced Pius VII. as a prevaricator” and violator of the holy canons, and even as a heretic and a schismatic (4)!” And observe, he asserts this after having solemnly declared that “his expres-

(1) Elucid. p. 33.

(3) Abus, p. 47.

(2) Pastoral, p. 20.

(4) Declar. pp. 65, 66.

“ sions are to be taken in their strict literal sense, and
 “ pledged himself that he would measure them in such
 “ manner as he is to give an account of them to God his
 “ judge (1).” —On the strength of this quibbling he
 goes yet further, and actually offers to shew that the
 identical Pope Pius VII. has approved of one of his
 books, which he describes as a demonstration that this
 same “ Pius VII. has destroyed the constitution of the
 “ Church to its very foundation (2)!” This dialectical
 feat can only be equalled by the practical trick which a
 military divine, who “ condemns every doctrine con-
 “ trary to that of the Sieur Blanchard as pernicious and
 “ heterodox, &c. (3)” played upon me last winter,
 when he summoned me by the forms of English law
 “ to the feet of his Holiness at Rome, in order to see
 “ myself condemned (4):” and for what, think you?—
 why, for maintaining against him and Blanchard, that
 the said Pius VII. is not a schismatic nor an heretic,
 but our good and holy Father, the Centre of Catholic
 Unity, and the restorer of the Church of France.

With the same quibbling disingenuity, the artful
 Blanchard still endeavours to infix a firm persuasion in
 our Catholic flocks, that the Pope is a schismatic and
 a heretic, at the same time that he professes to abstain
 from saying this in express terms. Like most former
 innovators and disturbers of the Church, he dogmatizes
 error, and, at the same time, endeavours to elude the
 censures due to it. As an instance of this, I will here
 quote his last declaration on the subject. —“ It is
 “ on the schism and heresy of Pius VII. that the zeal
 “ of the Bishop of Castabala is most violent ; and this

(1) Declar. p. 6.

(2) Ibid. pp. 114, 115.

(3) Act of Citation of Count Pfaff, &c. *pene me.*

(4) Ibid.

" zeal is directed exclusively against me. To speak
 " the truth, he is transported with passion. I must
 " then once more state the question.—I have proved
 " from sure facts and indisputable principles, that the
 " Church of the Concordat is schismatical and hereti-
 " cal. But as to the question, whether Pius VII. the
 " author of this Church, *is enveloped in HIS schism*
 " *and in HIS heresy?* I have left the decision or pro-
 " clamation of this to the bishops. It is a homage
 " which I owe to the episcopal dignity. Thus being
 " content with laying down the principles, and expos-
 " ing a capital truth in the strongest light possible,
 " without drawing the last consequence, I have not
 " said: *Pius VII. is a heretic and a schismatic*: and I
 " have refused to say on the other hand: *Pius VII. is*
 " *not a heretic and a schismatic* (1)." Thus impu-
 " dently stalks through our folds this murderous wolf,
 " covered with a transparent veil instead of a substantial
 " sheep's skin, and vainly fancying that he can thereby
 " elude the detection and vengeance of the shepherds.—
 " Let now the frank and undisguised schismatic Gaschet
 " save me the trouble of tearing off this flimsy covering
 " from the shoulders of the artful and insidious schismatic
 " Blanchard. His account of the matter is truly interest-
 " ing. " Mr. Blanchard," says Gaschet, " would have
 " rendered an important service to religion and to *po-*
 " *litics*, if he would have affirmed that in public con-
 " cerning the Pope's schism and heresy which he
 " maintains in private company. But this gentleman
 " says that he waits for a more favourable time to lay
 " down the position as a thesis, and that he has rea-
 " son to hope the bishops will be the first to draw this
 " conclusion from their own *reclamations*. I have the
 " greater reason to be acquainted with the real senti-

(1) Declarat. pp. 61, 62.

“ ments of Mr. Blanchard, because two years ago he
 “ advised me to denounce Pius VII. to all the bishops
 “ of the universe as *a schismatic, and the fautor of he-*
 “ *resy and apostacy*, and to declare that I would take
 “ their silence as a proof of their assent to my denun-
 “ ciation (1).”

The grand pretext for setting up the present unfortunate schism, is that the Pope, as these partisans of it pretend, has sanctioned and adopted the old schism of the constitutional clergy. But his Holiness ceases not to protest against the calumny ; and no facts can be more incontestable or notorious in the face of the whole Church, than that Pius VII. has abrogated these pretended sees, which had been circumscribed by a mere lay power ; that he has created other sees, different from those other, by his own spiritual authority ; and that he has required the constitutional bishops to renounce their pretended jurisdiction, and to take out their ecclesiastical commissions (I mean the very few who have since been named to bishoprics) from him, the depositary of spiritual power. That all this has actually been done, independantly of other proofs, appears from the different papers on which our adversaries ground their objections against the Pope. Here, then, was the grand act of retracting and abrogating the schism ; and this alone might have sufficed for the desired purpose, if the Pope had deemed it so. On the other hand, without this, the most humiliating forms of submission would have signified nothing. The authentic acts of this grand and important event, namely, the Concordat itself, the several Briefs which have been published together with it, and those by which the different bishops of the newly regenerated church of France have been appointed to their sees, are matter of public record : to

(1) *Lettres Apolog. de M. Gachet*, pp. 217, 218.

say nothing of the private retractations, penances, and absolutions which passed between Cardinal Caprara and the ten bishops in question. What now have our misguided adversaries, Blanchard and Co. to plead for their defection from the centre of unity, and for their slipping into the places of the former schismatics? They tell us that they have met with some private letters of Raymond, Lacomb, and Lacos, three of the prelates in question, to a Mr. Binos, and I know not whom else, in which they deny that they signed a *certain particular form of retraction* proposed to them by the Cardinal. But do they deny that they renounced the schismatical constitution?—No: they acknowledge that they did renounce it (1).—Do they deny that they received their canonical institution from the See of Rome?—No, they expressly avow in these said letters that they did so receive it. The whole that can be collected from this trash of private, nonsensical, and unauthenticated correspondence, is that the proud stomachs of Lacomb and Raymond, like that of Mr. B. turned at the crude word *retraction*. It remains now to be seen whether he, like them, will swallow it when properly dressed. However, as rumours of the insincerity of these few bishops were afloat, and had reached the ears of the Pope, he tells us that he “had particularly “at heart,” in his journey to Paris four years ago, “to “ascertain their sincere return to Catholic Unity, who,” he adds, “before they received their canonical institutions “at our hands, ought to have given adequate testimonies of their reconciliation.—These anxieties,” continues his Holiness, “ceased after a few days; for,

(1) What the real motives of these two or three individuals might have been, regarded their own conscience and not the Church. “*Ecclesia non “judicat de internis.*”

(2) These are to be met with in *Canonic. Expōst.*

“ either by word of mouth, or by letter, they earnestly declared that they cordially adhered and sincerely submitted to the decrees of the Holy See with respect to the ecclesiastical affairs of France(1).” If our adversaries were true to their avowed principles, nothing would be so gratifying to them, as to hear from the lips of his Holiness a distinct and public avowal, that *a return to Catholic Unity was necessary, on the part of the Constitutional Clergy, before they could receive any spiritual powers at his hands*; and that the parties suspected had *declared that they cordially adhered and sincerely submitted to the decrees of the Holy See with respect to the ecclesiastical affairs of France*: observe, not to *one or another* decree; but to *all* the decrees; that is to say, to the decrees of Pius VI. and the former decrees of Pius VII. as well as to the Concordat. But these men do not wish for motives of reconciliation, but pretexts for quarrelling with the Head of Christianity. Accordingly, the very idea of this public and decisive declaration of the Pope makes them more extravagant and turbulent than ever. Blanchard exclaims that it is *a crime* in me to deny that Pius VII. has violated the decisions of Pius VI. (2); and that blunt unqualifying schismatic, Gaschet, calls the *Allocutio* of Pius VII. “ a lying, cheating piece of business (3).” O that these unhappy men, instead of prescribing to the Head of the Church how he is to act for its general welfare, would make their own peace with her, and consult their own everlasting safety!

With respect to the second grand complaint against the Pope, that of his having deprived a considerable

(1) See the Pope's *Allocutio*.

(2) *Declar.* p. 114.

(3) *Lettre Apol.* p. 114.

number of the highly respectable and meritorious French Bishops of their Sees, by making a new ecclesiastical circumscription of France, I shall never cease to remind those who make the complaint, that these and all the other Bishops, with their clergy in general, had been absent from their flocks eight or nine years when this event took place ; that there was no prospect then, no more than there is now, after an interval of seven years more, that these Prelates could return home to perform the duties of Bishops ; that the Catholic Religion was upon the point of expiring (by this time would have been utterly extinct) in France from the joint operation of schism and infidelity, had not the Pope adopted the measures for introducing the orthodox clergy which he did adopt ; that in consequence of these 100,000 orthodox and good priests, consisting of those who returned to France, and those who have since been ordained there, are now labouring and saving millions upon millions of souls, which otherwise would have been for ever lost ; that our own country presents a second instance, namely, one since the conversion of the Saxons, of a pretty general change in the circumscription of bishoprics, with a still more general exchange of Bishops and Abbots made by a Pope's Legate. I speak of what took place at that grand revolution, the Norman Conquest ; that the French Bishops had repeatedly and generously proclaimed that the keeping or not keeping of their situations depended "not only on the wants, but also on the prejudices of "their people ;" and accordingly they had invited and pressed the Pope to pronounce, whether it was not for the good of religion that they should quit their Sees(1) ;

(1) See the Exposition of the Bishops, and the Letter of the Deputies to the Pope.

that when the time arrived at which this measure became not only expedient, but absolutely necessary for the salvation of Catholicity throughout Europe, his Holiness did most respectfully invite the Prelates to make good their promises ; that a considerable majority of them actually complied with the invitation, and gave up their Sees ; and that the remainder of them, though they twice remonstrated with his Holiness, yet, at the same time, they professed “ the greatest respect
 “ for the chair of Peter, and love for the worthy Pontiff who fills it,” as also “ submission, in the order
 “ of episcopacy, to the Pastor of Pastors, and unanimous and inviolable union with the other Catholic
 “ Bishops, and with the visible Head of the Catholic
 “ Church,” — “ glorying, at the same time, in the oath
 “ of obedience which they made to him at their
 “ respective consecrations (1).”

When, upwards of twelve months ago, I thought it my duty to point out and oppose those *pernicious and schismatical errors*, with respect to the authority and conduct of the Head of the Church, which had long prevailed and were rapidly gaining ground in the Catholic Church of this country, I was thought to have taken an alarm, without a sufficient cause, by many persons who now stand aghast at the discoveries, in this respect, which have been made. And when, in the course of last March, I stated that those unfortunate men, who were schismatically affected towards his Holiness, were equally so towards the Prelates who are at the head of the Catholic religion in England, I fancy I did not gain more credit with several of the individuals in question. Unhappily for us and themselves, Blanchard

(1) Memoire des Evêq. p. 2, 3, 5.

and Gaschet, in their last books, prove my judgment to have been as well founded in this as in the former instance.—I shall, then, briefly observe, that on every occasion, Blanchard (whom Gaschet rivals in this as well as in other respects) vilified the regimen of the Catholic Prelates of England (1), pronouncing it to be “the fruit of intrigue (2);” that he insults their persons (3), and defies their censures, even to their united sentence of excommunication (4); that he calls us, in this our own country, “*foreign Bishops*, who turn “against him the concessions of his *own superiors* (5);” and he affirms that the French Prelates, who, by the course of events, have lost all jurisdiction in France, “have an equal and even a superior jurisdiction to “that of the V. V. A. here in England (6);” and that we are “bound to hold up our hands at their bar (7).” This said Ex-Curé continues to insist, in the strongest terms, on revolutionizing our English theology no less than our Church Government, by obliging us to adopt the four French articles (8), though there is not a single Prelate in England or Ireland who is not firmly resolved to the contrary. We are very far from finding fault with the partisans of the articles; still we think we see in these articles the germ of all the present mischief; and, to be brief, we are determined neither to have B. for our theological, nor to subscribe to the articles.—Proceeding in his revolutionary projects, B. presents us

(1) Declar. p. 80, p. 109, p. 141, &c. In the passage last referred to B. says, that “the whole of the present controversy resolves itself into an attack of the V. V. A. on ordinaries.

(2) Ibid. p. 48.

(3) Ibid. p. 48, p. 131, &c.

(4) P. 137.—If what this turbulent priest says of himself be true, he stands excommunicated by the general rules of the mission, and is irregular.

(5) Ibid. p. 101. (6) P. 109. (7) P. 110.

(8) Ibid. pp. 46, 47, 48.

with a new system of canon law, framed, he says, by a (well-known) friend of his, and adopted, I fear, by very many friends of his, a system the most schismatical, the most revolutionary, and the most anarchical that ever was broached or devised since the foundation of the Church.—According to this new system, jurisdiction no longer regards *territory* but *kindred* (1), and hence, according to these disorganizers, the emigrant French Bishops, whom he repeatedly and heavily complains of for having ever taken out faculties from us, the Apostolical Vicars (2), have brought with them full and entire jurisdiction of every kind which the Church can bestow into this country, and have retained it during the seventeen years they have become domiciliated here, and will retain it as long as there is an individual in England, or any where else, who first drew the breath of life in any of the provinces of France (3). In opposition to St. Cyprian and the received canon law, they represent it as a gross error to suppose there cannot be two Catholic Bishops, with equal power, in the same diocese: on the contrary, they give us to understand that there are thirteen such Bishops at the present time in London, namely, Bishop Douglass (4), and twelve non dimissionary French Bishops. They maintain that the latter Bishops form a corporation or hierarchy here in England, and transmit their jurisdiction, in the article of death, from one to another (5). I must observe, however, that

(1) Declar. p. 83, p. 92, &c. These new canonists here pronounce in direct opposition to their favourite authority the *Conferenti d'Angers*. These deliver it as an axiom: "*Lex afficit territorium.*" Censure, p. 71: "*Extra territorium jus dicenti non parcat impune.*" Cap. ut *animarum* de Constit. in Sext.

(2) P. 94, &c. (4) P. 93.

(3) P. 87, &c. (5) P. 99.

these new canonists have not the merit of this particular discovery : for I heard long ago in London, that, *the longest liver among the Emigrant Prelates, would be Bishop of all France.* Finally, they solemnly affirm, “ that the Church of France exists in this strange land, England, having transplanted hither her faith and ancient principles from their native soil, being persecuted by those who ought to protect her, —being furnished with all the divine powers necessary for salvation, possessing life, and the means of communicating life to her children, without the necessity of having recourse to those who ask so high a price for it.” —“ Here,” says Blanchard, “ finishes the analysis (1),” namely, that of the new French code of canon law.—I now repeat my anxious wish, which is at present echoed back to me by the illustrious Catholic hierarchy of Ireland, that the respectable French Prelates may at length openly disavow a system of Church Government so monstrous, revolutionary, and schismatical as that which is here set up on their behalf, by a man who still professes to have them for his “ partisans (2),” and to be “ paid by them for the books which he publishes (3).” I trust that after having protested with so much strength and justice against the intruders into their Sees, they will not leave it in the power of any one to reproach them with being intruders into the districts of the English Apostolical Vicars.

It is to be expected, if this turbulent stranger behaves himself with so much violence to the Prelates of this country in general, he is not likely to be over civil to the individual amongst them who has detected and repressed his dangerous excesses. I would, however, willingly compound for his abuse, if he would but

(1) Declar. pp. 100, 101.

(2) P. 116.

(3) P. 44.

spare me his calumnies.——It is then utterly false that I have ever declared, insinuated, or held that every *Appeal à Proprio Episcopo* is *schismatical*, a calumny which he repeats again and again, and descants upon through whole pages (1). On the contrary, I have ever taught that, by the laws of the Church, an appeal lies open from his Bishop to every injured individual: but then this appeal must be made to a *competent tribunal*. If then I have charged Blanchard's Appeal from the suspension which he richly merited from his own Bishop with being schismatical, it was in consequence of its being made to a tribunal of his own erection, that of the Emigrant Bishops, who now, by the course of events, have jurisdiction in no part of the Church, and who never had an atom of jurisdiction in England: a tribunal at which this man teaches we British Prelates are *bound to hold up our hands*, and plead as to the exercise of our powers within the proper sphere of them (2). It is equally false that I hold as a principle, that "the Pope is to be obeyed with a blind submission, and under the guilt of schism, let him command what he will (3)." This calumny is the never-failing subject of his invectives against me, and from it, as might be expected, he has drawn the most frightful consequences: whereas, so far from abetting this principle, I have solemnly abjured it, and my oath is recorded in his Majesty's courts. All then that I have said on this subject is, that the Pope has acted within the sphere of his power, and, like a good and vigilant Pastor of the whole flock, in bringing back the numerous Church of France into the fold of Christ; and in proof that the Pope has not exceeded his power in this act, I

(1) Declar. pp. 149, 102, 103, 104, 105.

(2) Ibid. p. 110.

(3) Ibid. p. 149.

have appealed, not to the Pope himself, but to the conduct and declarations of the Catholic Bishops throughout the world, a most illustrious part of whom attest in this very publication, that his Holiness has not exceeded his just power. The writer is never wearied with hallooing the cry of *Ultramontain* against me and my fellow Prelates: just as the sanguinary revolutionists excited mobs against him and his fellow sufferers with the cry of *Aristocrat*; but, being resolved not to enter into any scholastic questions, I have never defended our holy religion, nor the Pope himself, upon any other principles than upon those which are common to divines on both sides of the Alps.—Again, it is a vile calumny that “I invest the Pope with the power of making Catholic Pastors of men, publicly professing schismatical doctrine, without a retractation (1);” and, by the same rule, I believe that the Pope himself is not authorized to give Mr. Blanchard the common faculties of a Catholic Priest without a retractation. Though most certainly I should not take upon myself, but should leave it to his Holiness to determine the form, the mode, and every other circumstance regarding the retractation.—With respect to our *ordinary* powers, the existence of which this turbulent Ex-Curé strongly denies (2), requiring that our faculties should be subjected to his examination (3), I shall barely say: they shall certainly be exhibited to any person who has a right, or a sufficient reason to call for them.

It is well known that I have ever publicly professed, and to the best of my powers have proved by my actions, the high respect and regard which I entertain for those champions of Catholicity, and ornaments of their age and country, the French Clergy, men who have sacri-

(1) *Declarat.* p. 149. (2) *Ibid.* p. 147. (3) *Ibid.* pp. 81, 82.

ficed rank, property, country, and, in so great a proportion, life itself, in defence of the faith and unity of our Holy Religion. But then my veneration has not been less for the thousands of pious priests (very many of them well known to me) who returned to their country with the viaticum of our treasury, and the benediction of the Bishop of Leon, in order to save souls (confessors of the faith whom Blanchard calls heretics and apostates) than for hundreds who have staid behind, from motives, which I am satisfied, are perfectly honourable. Being thus affected I have always lamented that a few individuals, some of whose names we occasionally meet with in the newspapers, should, by their conduct, injure the character and interest of their meritorious brethren. It is a question, however, whether any of these, or all of them together, have done so much mischief, in this respect, particularly in the minds of pious and benevolent Catholics throughout the United Kingdom, as the turbulent and schismatical Abbé Blanchard has done. In the same dispositions I have made a strong apology to the French Clergy at large (1), for accusing the last mentioned and his associates of ingratitude in repaying our services, our sacrifices, our contributions, and our taxes with libels, and denunciations; and still more with revolutionary doctrines and attempts against the peace and orthodoxy of our Church. To this he answers, that I am the aggressor, and he begs of me to leave him in peace (2). Without entering into the question of fact, I willingly agree to the request, provided he and his associates will leave the Catholic Churches of these islands in peace, by ceasing to disseminate heterodoxy, schism, and libels amongst them.

(1) Sequel, p. 29. (2) P. 125.

With respect to the last mentioned article, this foreigner appears to be still as uninstructed as ever : for he maintains that he is justified in proclaiming to the world, without the shadow of a foundation, that I have “broken my oath of allegiance (1);” which is as much as to say, that I am guilty of high treason. He defends this libel, and braves prosecution, by alledging that he has made a salvo for my heart at the expense of my head, in saying that I had “broken my oath “against my will (2).” But would such a plea avail me in a court of justice? Would any court bear to hear me in my situation plead thus? “It is true, my “Lord Judge, I have violated my allegiance, but I “did not know what I was saying and doing!” In the next place he aggravates his libel, by putting into my mouth, between inverted commas, what he calls “a pompous eulogium on Buonaparte (3):” whereas no such eulogium, either in form or in substance, is to be met with in any part of my writings. True it is, in one of my works, which was twice quoted without the least censure in parliament, I excused the Pope for entering into a treaty with the ruler of France at a time when he was acknowledged as such by every power in Europe, and when the royal family of Bourbon had not anywhere a file of soldiers to assert their claim. I did not, however, impose my political opinions upon him or upon any one else. He may even continue to insult and calumniate the Father of the Faithful as much as he pleases in the order of politics, safe from my censure, provided he does not attack him in his essential spiritual rights, and provided he desists from his attempts to withdraw us from the Pope’s communion.

(1) *Abus.* p. 182. *Declar.* pp. 127, 134.

(2) *Ibid.* (3) *P.* 128.

But, continues this quibbling calumniator, to give up the rights of our royal family was an immoral act of the Pope, and you, the Bishop of Castabala, by defending that action, have sanctioned immorality in general. Of course you have sanctioned crimes against nature, and every other crime (1). Such is the ground-work of this man's libels, and on this he bids defiance to the verdict of a British jury.—Without attempting to unravel his quibbles, I shall satisfy myself with asking him : Pray, has not his Majesty George III. likewise entered into a solemn treaty of peace with Napoleon Buonaparte, and received his ambassador, without making the least provision for the family of St. Louis ? And have not his Majesty's ministers declared in open Parliament, that “ no form of government which “ may prevail in France ought to be an obstacle to the “ making of peace with it ; provided such peace be “ safe and honourable to this country.” Have, then, our King and Parliament sanctioned sins against nature ?—It is easy to see how, in another instance, he invalidates his Majesty's right to the throne of England !—Why will this busy stranger be dabbling in political and constitutional questions, far out of his depth, and to the serious injury of his own royal cause ; boasting, as he foolishly does at the same time, that he is under the protection of the same laws that Englishmen are (2) ? Whereas the experience of his own intimate friends ought to have taught him, that neither the act of 1778 nor that of 1791 reach his person, and that the right of Habeas Corpus, and that of trial by jury, are a dead letter in his regard by virtue of the Alien Act and the Alien Office. The mention of this leads me, by way of conclusion, to state certain transactions which this man has horribly disfigured.

(1) *Abus.* p. 216. *Declar.* pp. 120, 131. (2) *P.* 125.

HAVING received legal notice, last winter, from Blanchard's chief hero, Count Pfaff, that I was denounced to his Majesty's minister of "violating my oath, and sharpening the daggers of fanatical paricides, &c." I went at once to the Treasury, and had the honour of holding a conference, by appointment, with one of the Lords of it, an intimate friend of the Minister. I then exhibited to that honourable personage the different libels of the above-mentioned description which had been published against me, and offered myself to be taken into custody, if I were deemed guilty of the crimes contained in them. This personage was pleased, in return, to bear honourable testimony to my character, and to declare what I pledge myself every lawyer of character in the kingdom who will look at the publications will also declare, that Blanchard and his associate libellers lie at my mercy, and that I may punish them most severely if I will. But prevention and not punishment being my object, I went next to the Alien Office, and again exhibited the pamphlets and papers. The libellous nature of them was there acknowledged, as well as my moderation, in declaring, as I then did, that I did not wish the least inconvenience to the guilty persons, but only that they should be admonished not to break the peace of the country by publishing libels, and particularly such detestable libels as those which I held in my hand, against his Majesty's sworn subjects. Upon this, a promise of reprimanding Blanchard and his champion was given to me, both by word of mouth and in writing.

In conclusion: I shall satisfy myself with giving a brief account of the most remarkable things in Gaschet's last production, without making the least comment upon them.—He continues to appeal to the tribunal of the Universal Church against the Pope and his Bishop, p. 5.—He asserts that the French Emigrant Bishops

have jurisdiction over all natives of France throughout the world, p. 6.—He informs me that I am well known, and a great favourite at the court of St. Cloud, by means of the Abbé Barruel, p. 129.—He demands of me, by what right I publish Pastoral Letters and other writings here in England, p. 147, claiming for himself the right of enlightening the people, p. 149.—He affirms it to be blasphemy to pronounce the name of the Pope in the Canon of the Mass, p. 173; denying that the Pope is in the Church, or in communion with it, p. 179.—He says he cannot help it, if we bishops and priests of England, &c. have invalid faculties in consequence of our deriving them from Pius VII. and that he should have a scruple of conscience to hold my situation, p. 190.—He bitterly reproaches me with testifying my veneration for a schismatical Pontiff, and with calling him, Gaschet, in comparison with that Pontiff, an obscure individual, p. 195.—He is equally indignant that I should be a bishop, whereas he says I am so dull and ignorant that he would not accept of me for his vicar in his *ci-devant* parish of Vignolles, p. 196.—He persists in rejecting the communion of Pius VII. and declaring the latter to be a false Pope, who has lost all authority and dignity in the Church, p. 202.

Taking his leave of me, he writes to some anonymous friend, chiefly about his disputes with his rival schismatic Blanchard. The information he gives to the public on this subject is really curious. He complains sadly of the constant efforts of Blanchard to hinder his writing and printing of his pamphlets. "But," says he, "I have dared to write and to print, for which" he, B. will never forgive me. The more perfect the "work the less he will forgive me.—But you know "the man. Surrounded as he is with his flatterers, "whom he knows how to manage, he decries me to

“ them, and he employs them to run me down.——
 “ Why does not he attack me openly ?——It would
 “ then be seen to whom the *mauvaise tête* belongs. I
 “ will not shun the contest,” p. 208. —— He charges
 Blanchard with writing his own panegyric, and getting
 it inserted in the newspapers, p. 109. He seems to
 admit that the *Dialogue entre Pierre et Thomas* has
 refuted B. but he says, “It is not so easy a matter to
 “ refute me.”——He vindicates his declaration that
 “ the Pope is to him like a heathen or a publican,”
 p. 210.——He afterwards exposes the weak and foolish
 attempts of Blanchard to throw a veil over his doctrine
 upon this point, shewing that their systems are exactly
 the same, pp. 214, 217, 218. Some of the passages
 here referred to I have cited above.——Speaking of
 that outrageous libel, *Epître aux Chrétiens en Grand
 Bretagne et en Ireland*, which accuses me of exciting
 the Catholics to assassinate the Royal Inhabitant of
 Windsor, and which contains some severe reflections
 upon himself, together with the most pompous praises of
 the writer Blanchard (who, in return, has praised that
 recommendation to the pillory) he insinuates that B.
 himself wrote part of the notes in it, p. 217.——I must
 not forget that Gaschet gives notice, at the head of his
 book, that he is preparing another publication of a po-
 litical nature against me

N. B. To the names of the Clergy holding faculties in the northern part of the Midland District, who have signed the Declaration set down at the head of p. 7, add the following names: JAMES HAWLEY, JOS. HOWSE, WM. ROBERTS, P. DE LA RUE, JEAN BAPT. QUESNEL, JACQUES NORMAN, P. F. CHARDON, PAUL ROYER, M. J. LE VEAUX, J. LE MAISTRE, G. BRICKNEL, S. CORBISHLY.



APPENDIX

TO THE

Supplement of a Pastoral Letter by the Rt. Rev.
JOHN, BISHOP OF CASTABALA, &c. &c.

THE following Letter from the Bishop of Quebec, in Canada, was received too late to be inserted among the other episcopal documents relative to the modern schism, published in the Bishop of Castabala's SUPPLEMENT. It seems highly proper, however, that it should be laid before the public; first, in order to vindicate the reputation of two most orthodox and exemplary Prelates in a distant portion of the Church, which has suffered more or less injury, for this year and a half past, from the foul, complicated fabrication which the Letter devolopes. A second reason for publishing it is, to shew the unfortunate partisans of schism (thanks be to God their number is much diminished since the appearance of these documents) what credit is due to those confident statements and asseverations of their leader, on which the schism in a great measure rests. They have already witnessed this man's bold appeals to the support of the Chief Pastor in various other instances, and in every one of them, except in that made to the Refugee Bishops, who, for obvious reasons, are entirely silent, they have seen these appeals rejected with indignation. They have heard his particular appeals to the Bishops of Ireland (1), whose *episcopal judgment and authority* he invoked to *recognize his faith*, or to *condemn his error*, promising, at the same time, to *repose on their decision*, in conjunction with that of the Refugee Bishops (who were not expected to speak at all). The decision has been pronounced; they have heard this same man publicly denying that he ever made any particular appeal to the Irish Prelates (2), — they even see his name affixed to a book, both in French and English, which professes in the title

(1) See Abus. p. 233, Ambigu, April 10, 1809, p. 7.

(2) Opposition, p. 21.

page, to prove an opposition between the doctrine of the collective Hierarchy of Ireland, consisting of thirty Prelates, and the true principles of the Catholic Church! Such bad faith and such arrogance can only be equalled by the folly of the arch-schismatic, in pretending to build up a Catholic Church without a Pope, and without Bishops.—All this, I say, the persons in question have witnessed; still, it is conceived, that nothing is so likely to convince them of the unworthy arts which have been made use of by this wretched fallen priest to seduce them, as the sight of his letter to the Bishop of Quebec, which has just been received from Canada (1).

Another reason for the present publication is, that it affords an opportunity of cautioning Catholics against giving implicit credit to vague reports from unaccredited, if not suspicious individuals, concerning his Holiness, or the affairs of the Catholic Church, whether these are circulated in discourse, or in the news-papers, or other publications. It is well known that reports of this nature have been propagated by persons of rank and power with great eagerness, and probably at a con-

(1) The original letter itself may be seen, if called for by persons of respectability, at the Printing Office of Keating, Brown & Co. No. 38, Duke-Street, Grosvenor-Square, as likewise the identical copy of a Letter addressed to the present Bishop of Quebec, by the Abbé Blanchard, dated March 24, 1805, which accompanied the former to Canada, and which is mentioned in it. In this latter the writer has been guilty of as complicated and barefaced a fabrication, in regard to the Bishop of Castabala, as he has been guilty of in his pamphlet, called *Defense*, against the Bishop of Quebec. After intimating, what he must have known from the booksellers to be false, that Dr. Milner had suppressed his work called *An Elucidation*, he proceeds to give the contents of a pretended letter from the last mentioned to the Bishop of Leon, asserting that Dr. M. had in this *owned himself* to have been in an error, and was sorry for having written his work, confessing that he had been engaged to write it by the Archbishop of Aix, who, it is asserted, went down to Winchester for this very purpose, &c. The truth is, no such letter was ever written, nor is there a word of truth in any one of the facts stated to be contained in it. There are other falsehoods and misrepresentations in Abbé Blanchard's Letter to the Bishop of Quebec, too numerous to be here mentioned. One fact, however, recorded in it appears to be true, namely, that the writer, as far back as March 1805, had taken his measures for engaging his countrymen in a schism, and that schism the identical one, which he condemns in the justly censured *Civil Constitution of the Clergy*. No doubt this project was defeated by the firmness of the French Bishops. His words are these: "Comme l'on compte principalement sur la mort des Evêques légitimes, je vais prouver, dans un Mémoire, que dans ces circonstances le droit de nommer appartient au Roi, et aux Evêques celui d'instituer canoniquement, indépendamment du Pape."

siderable expense, to serve their political purposes, which reports have turned out to be untrue: and there is great reason to apprehend that other such accounts will in a short time be published, with increased confidence, for the same purposes, and by the same description of persons, to the manifest danger, if not injury, of our Holy Religion. We have lately seen a spurious Pontifical Brief printed in all the news-papers, the credit of which has been traced to a high source. At present another Brief is before the public, which tho' we have reason to believe from accounts received immediately from Rome, is, upon the whole, authentic, yet, considering the inaccuracy with which it is printed, and the mode of its circulation, we cannot at present vouch for in every particular. Taking, however, this Brief as it stands, what do we gather from it, except that his Holiness, so far from consenting to those acts and laws of the persecutors, which have served our modern schismatics as a pretence for breaking communion with him, has uniformly opposed them by every means which to his wisdom seemed most efficacious, and that he now braves poverty, and prisons, and death, in the same cause. God forbid that we should identify, as these deluded men constantly do, the character and conduct of Pius VII. with the character and conduct of Portalis, and Fouché, and Napoleon. Our truly great Pontiff has restored the Church of France, which he still supports, and has saved the christianity of Europe; but neither he nor the Church which he has restored, is accountable for or subscribes to the laws or acts against religion and morality, which still oppress it, any more than we Catholics of England do to many existing laws of the same description(1). Should a more severe storm gather round this Church, we have no doubt that it will display its former heroism, and imitate the bright example of its holy regenerator.

JOHN, Bishop of Castabala, V. A.

Wolverhampton, Nov. 29, 1809.

(1) For example the many Divorce Statutes.

*Translation of a Letter from the Bishop of Quebec to
the Bishop of Castabala.*

MY LORD,

In a letter, addressed to you under the date of June 7, 1808, called *A Defense of the French Clergy residing in London*, signed *Peter Louis Blanchard*, an assertion occurs at page 9, as injurious to the memory of my predecessor as it is remote from the truth. The writer speaks of "The approbation of the venerable Bishop of Canada, who," he says, "has written to a friend of mine that the works composed for the purpose of refuting Mr. Blanchard, do not refute him: that he finds my book an excellent one, and conformable to the doctrine of the church; that, as to the other pamphlets, *he has never seen worse writings nor worse authors.* Your Elucidation, my Lord, was not one of the number, because, in the same letter, he requested that I would procure it for him. Not being able to find it at the Booksellers, and being unwilling to part with my copy, I drew up a regular analysis of it for him, which perhaps I shall have occasion to print. Death prevented his answering my letter, and giving his opinion of my composition."

To this I answer, 1st, that my predecessor, who died at the beginning of 1806, had no correspondence in England: 2dly, that he never read the *Controverse Pacifique* of Abbé Blanchard, a work much cried down here by the few Ecclesiastics who had undertaken to read it, and who had not patience to get to the end of it: 3dly, that it was not my predecessor but myself, being at that time Bishop of Canathe and his coadjutor, who wrote to one of my friends in London, desiring him to procure for me some copies of an excellent work which your Lordship had published, under the title of, *An Elucidation of the late Briefs, &c.* which work had been sent to me from Newfoundland in 1804, and which all the clergy here were desirous of reading, in consequence of the advantageous account of it given by those who had seen the only copy of it which I had been able to procure: 4thly, that my wish to circulate this work and my eagerness to procure copies of it, does not argue any great relish in me for the *Controverse*

Pacifique : 5thly, that my correspondent having, somehow or other, addressed himself to Abbé Blanchard to procure the copies of your *Elucidation*, which I wished for, this person took occasion to write to me (1) a long letter, dated March 24, 1805, which I have never yet answered: so much disgusted was I with the self-sufficient air of this priest in censuring the Sovereign Pontiff, and with his pedantry in criticising writers much superior to himself.

My correspondent wrote to me, April 5, of the same year: "I send you a new work of Mr. Blanchard called *Premiere Suite a la Controverse Pacifique*. Mr. Blanchard requests me to send you several copies of it, but Mr. — having written to me that "the *Controverse Pacifique* was not relished in your country, I refused to send them."

Your Lordship will now be enabled to form a just idea of the hardihood of Abbé Blanchard in boasting of the success of his *Controverse Pacifique* in Canada. It is an act of justice which I owe to the clergy of my diocese to declare, that they are sincerely attached to the Holy Apostolic See, and that whoever pretends to attack the successor of St. Peter, will be far from succeeding in this part of the world, but on the contrary, will meet with as many adversaries as he meets with readers.

It is an easy task to heap up authorities, by way of shewing what was the discipline of the first ages of the Church. But have those Canons, which we revere as much as Abbé Blanchard, provided for every case that might happen in later times? No: they were framed for the existing circumstances. New circumstances, of course, require new measures; and no Catholic can, without rashness, blame the Sovereign Pontiff for adopting them.

I understand that the writings of Abbé Blanchard have been censured by the Bishop of Centuria, and by your Lordship, and I hope they will meet with the same treatment from every Bishop who is jealous of the

(1) N. B. It is addressed to the Bishop of Canathe, Coadjutor of Quebec.

Church's unity, and that this miserable writer will fall into the contempt and oblivion which he deserves.

I am, with much respect,

Your Lordship's most humble

and obedient servant,

✠ J. O.

Catholic Bishop of Quebec.

Quebec, August 18, 1809.

To the Bishop of Castabala, Vic. Apost.

N. B. Just as the press was closing I met with a printed letter addressed to me by an Abbé Tayer, or some such name, from which I understand, what I was prepared to hear, that a certain set of his countrymen, in London, are very angry with me, for the part I have taken in the proscription of a Schism which has too long subsisted amongst them. The writer disclaims, indeed, being "the apologist or panegyrist of Blanchard," but, in the true spirit of that restless anarchist, he rises up, without the pretence of mission or character of any sort, to censure the official instructions of the constituted ecclesiastical authorities of Ireland and England, speaking in universal and perfect concord on the subjects in question. But instead, however, of looking into my late *Supplement*, containing the proof of this concord, fairly in the face, he garbles certain passages from their context, which he first disfigures and then holds up to public odium. He professes to be in communion with Pius VII: but plainly signifies that he is in communion also with those who invariably represent this Pontiff as a schismatic and a heretic; charging me, at the same time, with the greatest uncharitableness and scandal in warning my flock against these men, and in pointing them out as "murderous wolves." Instead, however, of submitting to his lectures, I shall attend to those of the great Doctor of charity in modern times, who says: "It is charity to cry out against the wolf, when he is among the sheep; yea, wherever he is." *Introd. Dev. Life*, P. iii. c. 29.— He objects to me in many words, that I am unacquainted with the ecclesiastical situation of France, and the means of preserving its religion. But I prefer being guided in these matters by the heavenly commissioned pastor of the whole flock, rather than by a few unknown Refugees. He inveighs bitterly against me for incidentally saying; "that the Emigrant Bishops have no jurisdiction in France, since the late acts of the Pope with respect to that country; which is no more than saying, with the Prelates of Ireland, that "those acts are good and rightful;" and he justifies the former in not disavowing the pretence of their possessing jurisdiction in our English Districts, which has been pertinaciously set up, and, to all appearance, acted upon by a writer who on every occasion loudly proclaims that his schismatical productions are approved of and paid for by them! This needs no answer. He adds, that the French Bishops who resigned their Sees, at the call of the Pope, had a majority of only five voices over those

who did not resign; and that these five had once determined to hold out. Still it is plain that the former had a majority, and it will be always true to say, that the Church of France has acted in concert with all the other Churches of Catholicism in receiving the ordinances of the Holy Pius VII. On the subject of this determination of the five Prelates I have to observe, that if any credit is due to the late Bishop of Leon, in his last conversation with me, every French Prelate in England, when called upon by the Pope, was, in his own mind, ready to do what he himself loudly proclaimed his disposition, namely, to sacrifice life and diocese, and all for the good of the Catholic religion: but added he, "when we came together, we changed our opinion!" I shall say nothing on the subject which the writer next enlarges upon, the Gallican Articles, in addition to what I have already stated, namely, that "I am far from finding fault with those who hold them." Nevertheless, I know that my Episcopal Brethren, as well as myself, will never suffer that a few Refugees, so many ways indebted to us, and who have no right to teach at all, should disturb our flocks with these exotic questions. In the last place, my new adversary proceeds to carp at the very judicious, respectful and edifying letter of a certain Irish Bishop to a late French Metropolitan, for no other reason, probably, than that I quoted and praised it: but why has he turned his eyes from the other important letters of the Irish Prelates, and especially from the solemn, energetic unanimous Declaration of the whole Irish Hierarchy, consisting of no less than thirty Prelates, by which his own covert errors, no less than the glaring schismatical doctrines of Blanchard, are virtually censured? He knows that it was to publish these decisive and immortal documents I printed my SUPPLEMENT.

"There is an end now of the cause: God grant there may be an end of the error."—I pointed out, as it was my duty to do, a lurking schism, of the most fatal kind, in our English flock. Instantly the monster started up, in all its deformity, daring me to the combat, and shielding itself with bold falsehoods, and dialectical quibbles. On my part I appealed at once, to the decisive authority of the Catholic Church; which Church, from every part of England, Ireland, and North America, in short from every country to which my voice could reach, has loudly and unanimously proclaimed by the organ of her chief Pastors, her support of my official doctrine in defence of our Supreme Head. The Church then has spoken, and woe to those who will not hear her!

Rev. Mr. Whit

DR. MILNER'S

A P P E A L

TO

THE CATHOLICS

OF

IRELAND.

Without examination or knowledge of the truth, you have condemned.

Return again to judgment. Daniel xiii. 48, 49.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY H. FITZPATRICK, 4, CAPEL-STREET.

1809.

DR. MILNER'S

A P P E A L,

&c. &c.

MY CATHOLIC BRETHREN,

OVERPOWERED as I am, by the number and the diversity of my literary foes, rather than their force, it seems to me that I can disarm, if I cannot drive off, one of the most formidable bodies of them, if you will permit an individual, who has, for a considerable time past, devoted himself to your interest and service, now to appeal to your characteristical justice and generosity, and indulge him with a cool and deliberate hearing. For it is notorious, that I am unremittingly attacked in the front by the Musgraves, the Duigenans and their Orange bands,* whose unbounded indignation I have

B

drawn

* See Sir Richard Musgrave's Remarks on my Tour, and Abraham Plymley's Answer to his Brother Peter, Le Mesurier's Bampton Lectures, and the different numbers of the Anti-jacobin or No-Popery Review.—This monthly publication

drawn upon myself, chiefly by fighting your battles. It is equally manifest that *I am*, on one hand, assailed and harrassed without ceasing, by a confederate band of Irish Catholic writers, who shew me no more respect or mercy, either as a fellow Catholic, or as a prelate of their church, than the Orangemen themselves do : and you will now, at least, learn, that I am annoyed on the other hand, with weekly pamphlets, essays, and satyrs, by a desperate Gallic sect, who threaten, as well as insult me, because I will not acknowledge them to be Catholics, whilst they proclaim our venerable Pontiff, the exemplary Pius VII. and the great universal Church, in communion with him, to be involved in schism and heresy ! I say, you will necessarily learn this now, because the champion of this sect, Abbè Blanchard, has recently appealed from my judgment, and that of his own bishop, to your prelates, in a book of 244 pages, * declaring at the same time, that he shall take their silence for an approbation of his doctrine. Behind me are ———, but as they

lication is the common vehicle of the anonymous calumnies and invectives of Dr. D. and Sir R. M. against Popery, and its defenders. See, in particular, the number which has just appeared for December last, in which the Orange writer makes common cause with my Catholic foes in Ireland.

* The author has very properly entitled his last production *Abus sans Example*.

they keep out of sight, I will not drag them into it.

Yes, my Catholic brethren of Ireland, for these six months and more—during which I have been chiefly taken up, as you will soon see, with prosecuting my former undertaking, of illustrating your history and antiquities, of vindicating your apostle and ancient saints, of demonstrating the purity and truth of your religion, and of beating down the different adversaries who have risen up against it, of celebrating your national character, and more particularly, of defending your clergy and hierarchy, with all their divine rights and jurisdictions, to the best of my power, and at the risk of losing what is most valuable to me in this world—a confederate host of your Catholic writers have been employed in executing their threat, made in August last, of depriving me of my popularity; that is to say, of your affection and esteem. In the prosecution of this most uncharitable undertaking, they have kept no bounds in the malice of their insinuations, or in the grossness of their misrepresentations and calumnies. Do you fancy this an exaggerated complaint? Look at the hand-bills posted upon your walls, or dispersed through the post-office, over the two islands; in which I am charged with being “an agent in selling your venerable hierarchy to the highest bidder.” Happily for my

my credit, but unhappily for that of our holy religion, two other prelates were associated with me in the charge; one of whom, probably the immediate head pastor of the calumniators, for his zealous and successful exertions in defence of this religion, has long been the common shooting mark of all its declared enemies; while the other, by his charity, piety and sweetness, has the rare merit of having disarmed those enemies, in every country in which he is known. To say one word now of myself: so, it seems, I am posted throughout England and Ireland, as the salesman of your hierarchy!—Take up, fellow Catholics, that book,* which probably first taught my accusers to appreciate the dignity and the value of that hierarchy, to judge me on this charge, by the contents of it. Turn in particular to that passage, page 29, in which I deprecate, with all the energy I am master of, the pensioning of the Catholic clergy, and be assured that I shall repeat the same sentiment in the new edition of my work. If you have any doubt concerning the meaning and tendency of that passage, consult the commentaries of your enemies upon it, namely, the “Remarks of Sir R. Musgrave” upon my Tour, and “the Report of Lord B——shire’s Speech” in a certain illustrious assembly, on the 27th of last May,

* Letters from Ireland, &c.

May, —. But I am wandering from my subject, which at present is not to argue, but to relate. Examine then the files of the Dublin Evening Herald, from July to December, inclusively; you will see me therein charged with “ a *blasphemous attempt* against the existence “ of the hierarchy ;” * with “ sacrificing the “ principles, tenets, and discipline of the Catholic Church ;” † with being “ an agent “ sent to Ireland, by Mr. Perceval, to accomplish the work in which Lord Redesdale “ failed, that of subverting the Popish superstition, and of grinding down the faith and “ morals of Catholic Ireland, more than all the “ efforts of Luther and Calvin could do ;” ‡ with being “ disposed to barter away the inalienable “ spiritual rights of the Church for my own “ temporal advantage ;” § with being “ a wolf “ in sheep’s clothing,” the hypocritical priest described by Boileau, and “ Judas Iscariot, agent “ to the party that sought to arrest Jesus “ Christ.” ¶ In consequence of this accumulated guilt, formal notice is given to me and to the British empire, that “ I have been tried and “ found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged in “ effigy by the parliament of Pimlico, (in “ Dublin,) under the prosecution of Mr. Attorney General, Sarsfield, and Mr. Solicitor General, Laicus, for conspiring, at the instigation

* Evening Herald, July 20, † Sept. 2. ‡ Sept. 12.

§ Ibid. ¶ Sept. 23.

“tion of the devil, under the form of thirty
 “pieces of silver, to adopt resolutions subver-
 “sive of the faith I was sworn to protect.”*
 I have more recently been compared, in a copious parallel, with “the proud Pharisee” of the gospel. † It has been roundly asserted before the public, that, “as much as in me lies, I
 “encourage persecution against the Christian
 “Church;” ‡ that I am “so far maddened
 “by disappointment, as to be instrumental in
 “quickenning the malice of the avowed enemies,
 “or affected friends of the Irish bishops,” and that “the Irish prelates and Catholics in general
 “are (possibly) doomed to a new persecution,
 “unnaturally roused into action, by that un-
 “grateful accusing spirit which dictates all my
 “furious letters on the question.” §

I ask you now, my Catholic brethren, whether the picture which I drew of your confederate Irish writers is overcharged? and, in your opinion, whether Sir R. Musgrave himself is capable of writing with more rancour and coarseness against the author, who has exposed the falsehoods and fabrications in his darling *Memoirs of the Rebellions*, than these good Catholics do write against a prelate of their own communion? I sincerely hope, for the consistency of what I have published and am publishing, of your moral and religious character,

* Evening Herald, Sept. 26. † Nov. 13. ‡ Dec. 2.

§ Nov. 30.

ter, that the number of these writers is not great, though they describe themselves as constituting a parliament. For my part, I never found any thing like this rancorous disposition amongst those who are considered as the refuse of your nation; I mean the poor sailors and soldiers, who were brought from Portsmouth and Gosport to my parish town of Winchester, for trial, on some indictment or other, to the number of many hundreds, during the twenty-four years I resided there. On the contrary, I found ^{in them} such an innate goodness of heart, and respect for the ministers of religion, and especially that exuberance of gratitude for the services, ~~as~~ which it was my duty to render them in life and at their deaths, as to endear their national character to me, at a time when I little expected to become acquainted with the more religious and moral orders of their countrymen. Alas! till of late, I thought the mental poison of your country had been confined to the breasts of Orangemen!

These writers, of the Herald, boast of having covered me "with shame and confusion, by putting me down in argument; a circumstance," they are pleased to say, "which I had previously been a stranger to."* If this be true, let them have the full merit of their victory: for thus much is certain, that the question at
issue

* Evening Herald, Nov. 13.

issue was to me a professional subject, and the very subject on which I have published three different works;* while my antagonists professed to be utterly unacquainted with the great Catholic theologians and canonists, whom ^{and} we bishops and priests are obliged to study, ~~but~~ to draw all their information from that single source from which Luther and Calvin drew their information.† I must add, what you my brethren will naturally suppose, that in consequence of their writing numerous hasty and desultory essays, on subjects which they had never studied, they fell into grosser errors and more numerous contradictions, than any one of those several adversaries has done, whom they admit I have had the advantage over, during the twenty-five years of my literary polemics. However, they fancy they have “put me down “in argument,” and it is not my intention to disturb them in the enjoyment of their triumph; only I will mention to you, what they themselves avow, ~~namely~~, that long ago I signified my resolution, not to have any controversy with them at all, under the disguise of feigned signatures; and in this resolution I was fortified by the advice of the Catholic prelates, who never spoke of these anonymous Herald writers, but in

* The Letter to a Layman, the Divine Right of Episcopacy and Ecclesiastical Democracy detected.

† Evening Herald, Sept. 23.

in the severest terms of censure and displeasure. The writers, however, ask by what rule of Locke I can shew, that a knowledge of the disputant is of any consequence as to the force of his argument? Undoubtedly there is no rule either in Locke or in Aristotle of this nature; but there is a rule of common sense, which tells every gentleman and scholar not to commit himself, either by word of mouth or in writing, if he can properly avoid it, with any person, unless he has some sort of pledge that the person will observe due decorum of language, that he will adhere to the fundamental principles on which the controversy rests, and that he will abide by the consequences of a refutation, so far at least as to acknowledge his error, or to be silent on the subject. Now, it is evident that I am bound by all these laws, while I give my name to the public, as I invariably do, whether in periodical papers or in other publications: but what hold have I, and what hold has the public, upon *A. B.* and *Lăicus*, and *Sarsfield*, and *Detector*, for their observance of any of them? For example, is it to be supposed, that any of these writers would have the confidence to address me, in such language as that set down above, under *his own name*, supposing at the same time this name to belong to a gentleman? And would any controvertist, whom I could tie down to the laws

of the Catholic Church, and who is amenable to the reproof of its pastors, vauntingly scoff at the authority of Cabassutius, Thomassinus, and Bellarmine,* on a question concerning the canons and discipline of the Catholic Church? and that he would appeal from them, to his own interpretation of the Acts of the Apostles, and to some unknown clergyman's interpretation of a Greek word, which the writers do not know even how to spell?† Well, and supposing now, that, after having been so often "put down in argument" by these profound canonists and linguists, I should, by mere chance, gain a victory in my turn, what shall I be the better ^{for} ~~of~~ it, or my enemies the worse? *Láicus*, perhaps, will transform himself into *A. B.* and *Sarsfield* into *Detector*, and in these new characters they will open batteries upon me upon fresh grounds: in the mean time Mr. *C.* and Mr. *D.* which I suppose to be the real names of my opponents, will walk the streets with unblushing countenances, and will insult, as usual, that of Dr. Milner! But my anonymous calumniators have two other reasons for keeping in the dark; they say that by "avowing their names they would expose themselves to the dagger of the vile Orangeman, or to the slanderous tongue of the more vile pensioned and pension-hunting Catholic."‡ Both these reasons

* Evening Herald, Sept. 23. Nov. 13.

† Sept. 23.

‡ Nov. 13.

reasons I submit to the consideration of the public; first, whether the writers are not quite a match for the pension hunters in the line in which they affect to dread them? And secondly, whether it is not at least probable that the names of these writers, when they come to be known, will not be found more obnoxious to Orangemen than that of Dr. Milner; which name, however, the owner of it never conceals either in Ireland or in England?

There is a case, my fellow Catholics, in which I might be induced to affix a false signature to my publication; namely, in case (by way of an essay, or for any other reason) I were to write upon a subject, which I knew nothing at all about. But in no case whatsoever could I reconcile it to my ideas of justice, to lay an accusation, or, what is worse, to insinuate one against any man, whether prelate or peasant, whether Catholic or Orangeman, without giving my name, as a pledge that I would stand the issue of a trial with him before the public, or even before a court of justice. Never could I reconcile it to the feelings of *my heart*, to hide myself in a corner, and thence to shoot poisoned shafts at the man, whom I think, or who actually may be, my enemy. No; if for any good purpose I must fight with him, it shall be on equal terms; he shall have the advantage of his sword as well

as of his shield. Irishmen! do not your hearts beat in unison with mine?

I shall conclude this long digression, with expressing my surprise and my concern, at the conduct of my adversaries. I am surprised, that, in extolling the resolutions of their upright and edifying prelates, in their Synod on the 15th of September last, they should take no notice of, and should even trample upon, the third and fourth articles of them: For have they ever once appeared sensible of the severe censure which was then passed by that venerable body upon their licentious pens? Have they paid the least respect to the four and twenty crosiers that were then projected in my defence? No; for the bitterest, the most libellous calumnies of these Heraldists, are those which were published within a week or ten days from the breaking up of the Synod. I shall here insert the resolutions in question, the original of which is in my possession.

“ At a meeting of the Roman Catholic arch-
 “ bishops and bishops of Ireland, held in Dub-
 “ lin, September 15th, 1808, resolved unani-
 “ mously, that the satisfactory explanation of
 “ the Right Rev. Dr. Milner’s conduct in a late
 “ arduous transaction, as received this day,
 “ through a specially deputed friend, most
 “ amply proves to us, *how grossly he has been*
 “ *misrepresented in certain newspaper publications.*

“ We

“ We are fully convinced of the unblemished
 “ rectitude of his principles, of the purity of
 “ his intentions, and of his disinterested zeal in
 “ the Catholic cause: and we hereby entreat
 “ him to accept of our warmest thanks, for his
 “ powerful and unwearied exertions in promot-
 “ ing it.—Resolved unanimously, that the Right
 “ Rev. Dr. Milner be requested to act as agent
 “ to the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland at
 “ the seat of government, agreeable to such
 “ instructions as he may occasionally receive
 “ from the Archbishops, in concurrence with
 “ their Suffragans.”

The concern which I feel arises from a zeal
 for the reputation and interest of our common
 Church; one of the essential and most~~ly~~ con-
 spicuous marks of which you well know, my
 Catholic brethren, is HOLYNESS. This holyness
 implies the strictest observance of the Ten
 Commandments, and, above all, the practice of
 the favourite virtue of our Divine Master,
 charity. Without this, as you have oftentimes
 heard, your *faith*, “ *though strong enough to*
move mountains, would avail you nothing.”
 1 Cor. xiii. 2. Now, I appeal to your cool
 consideration, what ideas our mistaken fellow-
 christians of other communions must form of
 the sanctity of that Church, in which such men
 as Lord Fingall and Lord Southwell are con-
 stantly

stantly held up by Catholic writers, as nominally irreligious; half Catholics, the disgrace of their Church, &c. They who have made, and who constantly do make, such sacrifices to it; they who are universally revered for their moral and religious virtues by the public at large, as well as by myself, who have known them from their childhood; whilst the men who put themselves forward in the face of the public, as the genuine, strict, conscientious Catholics; and who, to use their own swaddling language, “have been saved by their religion;” * are chiefly distinguished by the uncharitableness of their language, as appears by the specimen I have given of it, and by their continued, open violation of the commandment, *Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour!* What scandal must not you, my brethren, take at the conduct of these men, who, as strict, conscientious Catholics, of course, you know are in the habit of frequenting the holy sacraments, whilst you are constant witnesses to their detraction and calumnies against their own prelates, as well as against others, and never hear of the least attempt, on their part, “to make their injured neighbour satisfaction, and to restore his good name as soon as possible.” *Catholic Catech. p. 32.*

It

It is pleasant enough to hear these anonymous writers retorting the charge of injustice and uncharitableness upon me, because when they began to call me to an account, and to a number of impertinent questions, (threatening me first with the loss of my popularity, and then with gibbets and fire to enforce their requisition,) I took the liberty of enquiring their *real names*, in order to judge from their characters, of their motives, and their authority in questioning me; adding that "Sarsfield and Láicus may be
 "good Catholics, or mere nominal Catholics, a
 "disgrace, by their principles and conduct, to
 "the religion they profess; or that they may
 "even be wolves in sheep's clothing, who come
 "only to kill and destroy, for any thing I
 "can know of them; and that the disclosure
 "of their real names would probably settle my
 "opinion upon these points, and enable me to
 "decide how far they are deserving of my
 "respect and regard." This is the passage, which some man, woman, or child, who falsely assumes the name of the Great Sarsfield, Lord Lucan, maintains is contrary to justice and charity.* But, tell me, my brethren, I beseech you, what injustice or uncharitableness can be deduced from it, except that, in my opinion, some bad Catholic or some Orangeman is as
 capable

* Evening Herald, Nov. 13.

capable of writing in the newspapers, under the signature of Sarsfield, or *Láicus*, as a good Catholic is? Heavens defend me from insinuating, that your immortal countryman, *the real Sarsfield*, (for as to *Láicus*, I suppose the millions whom I have the honour to address are all *Láici*,) who nobly faced in the field “the hero of Glencoe, and the pacificator of “Limerick,” was “a disgrace to his religion, “or a wolf in sheep’s cloathing.” If any thing were wanting to the completion of the jest, it is, that this mock Sarsfield complains I have “attacked a *character* which I cannot possibly know,”* and which, he adds in the same paper, he “keeps concealed, for fear of “the dagger of the Orangeman, and the slanderous tongue of the pensioned Catholic.” To attack a fabricated name; to injure a reputation which is a profound secret; to ruin a character which does not exist;—by what name, I pray you, my brethren, do you call this in your country?

I am far from wishing to lay additional restraints upon the press; but again, and again, my Catholic brethren, I beseech you, to discourage, by all the means in your power, *anonymous publications upon matters relating to your religion*. I have much higher motives
for

* Evening Herald, Nov. 13.

for this advice, than those which I have already suggested; and, take notice, they are such as all and every one of your excellent prelates and pastors will decidedly sanction. For under their correction, I, though a doctor and a prelate of your Church, always speak to you, my brethren of Ireland, upon these subjects. The case is this; there is a living authority, a speaking tribunal in the Catholic Church; the singular, the happy prerogative, the immortalizing principle of which is, that we all and every one of her children, are subject to it. By publishing our real names with our religious essays, we profess ourselves, or, at any rate, we become, amenable to this tribunal. But if bad Catholics, under the pretence of being good ones, if the heterodox, under the pretence of being orthodox, by means of feigned names, and specious declamation, are permitted to lecture you, how can your real pastors and prelates arraign them? What security have you, that they will not impose false doctrines upon you, for the genuine doctrines of the Church; as I maintain the above mentioned anonymous writers have done in scores of instances?

I give you my word, my Catholic brethren, that when I sat down to write this letter, I had no intention of running into this exposure of the anonymous writers in the Evening Herald;

my business not being to refute their calumnies, but to eradicate some groundless prejudices against myself; which I fear have been instilled into the breasts of several of the most upright and edifying persons among you. However, as these prejudices have probably originated in the still repeated and unrefuted calumnies in question, (in confirmation of the Machiavelian maxim, *calumniare fortiter*, &c. (throw on dirt enough, some of it will stick) this digression may be of service to me, in the cause which I have undertaken; at the same time that it will be useful to you for the different purposes which I have pointed out. The prejudices which I mean to combat are nearly allied to the following assertions of my adversaries, in their latest publications: “ Dr. “ Milner at the last hearing of the Catholic “ petition, *engaged* that the King should hold “ a veto upon the election of our bishops. “ *He did grant* a veto. Before the passing of “ the resolutions, we were advised by Dr. “ Milner to *leave the settling* of the dispute “ to our worthy *prelates*. The bishops did examine the question, and unanimously decided “ against *Dr. Milner’s plan*.”* “ He is enthusiastically attached to it.”† His recent letter “ in

* Evening Herald, Dec. 2.

† The present state, by *Inimicus Veto, Esquire!* This writer

“in the Morning Chronicle, has filled the
 “nation with astonishment, and excited loud
 “and general censure on this wanton and un-
 “politic renewal of hostilities.”* In opposition
 to these assertions, I undertake to prove; first,
 that neither the plan, which the great bulk
 of you so strongly object to, for allowing of a
 certain interference of the Crown in the nomi-
 nation of your bishops, nor any other plan for
 making the least change whatsoever in your
 ecclesiastical discipline, is *my plan*: secondly,
 that I never did *grant to the Crown the power*
of a veto in this business, *nor engage that your*
bishops should grant it: thirdly, that, as well
since, as before the passing of the resolutions,
 I have uniformly advised the Catholics to leave
 this matter to their worthy prelates; knowing
 perfectly well, that it is for them, and **THEM**
EXCLUSIVELY, to decide upon the expediency
 of the measure, as it is mine to obey their
 instructions. I disclaim an attachment to any
 measure which the prelates of any part of the
 Catholic Church may deem inconsistent with
 its safety or its welfare; and I maintain my
 late letter was not intended by me, nor indeed
 generally calculated, to occasion hostilities of
 any

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writer proves himself by his language to be a gentleman,
 no less than Mr. Trotter, Mr. Clinch, and one or two others
 of my opponents: yet I never, before now, heard of an
 Esquire of that name in any part of Ireland.

* Evening Herald, Dec. 5.

any kind, but rather to promote the inestimable blessing of peace. Should I, my Catholic brethren, obtain that success which I promise myself in establishing these three points, I foresee that I shall have nothing to fear from the utmost malice of my inveterate foes on your side of the water, and that I shall have no future occasion to renew this disagreeable topic, in either island, barring such explanations as may become inevitably necessary, in consequence of the expected debates in Parliament. Of one thing remain perfectly assured; that, as I have received no instructions whatsoever from your prelates, or from any one of them, relative to the business in question, so I should decline receiving any, if sent to me. In any other concern I should be happy to serve them; but of this, I trust I have washed my hands for ever.

To proceed now with some degree of order in establishing the two first points of my defence; namely, those which regard my conduct previously to the meeting of the bishops: I positively deny, that I formed the plan, or conspired with any other being or beings, to introduce any sort of interference, on the part of the Crown, in the nomination of your bishops, or in any other of your ecclesiastical concerns whatsoever. It is notorious to the public, both Protestant and Catholic, that I am not less a professed advocate for your hierarchy, and
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the mode by which it is perpetuated, as being primitive, and calculated for the peace and welfare both of Church and State,* than I am a foe to every the least encroachment of the civil power, or of the people, upon that independent spiritual jurisdiction which Christ has left to his Church, and which is the very vital spirit of its never failing existence. For more than twenty years, my brethren, have I been engaged with the enemies, and chiefly the domestic enemies of this jurisdiction, who in various modes have attempted to infringe it, that is to say, either by recommending the *oath of supremacy* or the direct *Royal nomination*. God knows, my brethren, [&] you will know at the great day of manifestation, what I have suffered, for my constancy in defending the independency of your Irish Catholic hierarchy and jurisdiction, no less than that of our little English Catholic flock. This ^{however} being, to a certain degree, a matter ^{sufficiently} ~~well~~ known to the heads of your hierarchy, and having first attracted, on my behalf, the honour of their notice and friendship, what likelihood is there that I should, all on a sudden, in the month of May last, when the ink was hardly dry in that pen, with which I had been defending the divine rights and freedom

* See Appendix, No. 5, to Sir J. Hipposley's Additional Observations.

dom of that hierarchy and jurisdiction, against their most inveterate and powerful enemy, Dr. Duigenan, * renounce the leading principles of my conduct and conscience, by devising a plan, or conspiring with other persons in devising a plan, against your hierarchy and jurisdiction? Again, my brethren, though conscientiously attached to the King and Country, to which we have sworn allegiance, as I have maintained you also are; I have always measured my allegiance and your own, not by the news in the Gazette, but by our duty and our oath; I have always vouched to this King and Country, for the purity and firmness of your civil and social principles, and more particularly for those of your exemplary prelates; and have shewn, that our Catholic ancestors, and the bishops and clergy in particular, have evinced a principle of conscience, in opposition to apparent interest, beyond every other description of christians, even the *divine right* men. In short, I have always maintained, by the tongue and by the pen, what I am fully convinced of, that there is no need of any change at all in the existing discipline, by way of securing or ascertaining the fidelity of your prelates and clergy. Nay, I will go so far as to say that, in my opinion, the most considerable personages, who have
called

† See Supplement to the second edition of *Addit. Observ.*

called for a change on this ground, do not think it necessary. They only sought to throw out a tub to the whale of vulgar Protestant prejudice; just as when they tacked new formularies of allegiance, but exactly the same in substance, to the different acts of parliament, which they have, from time to time, passed in our favour. I had then no *political* motive for desiring a change in your discipline; and as to the personal motives of avarice and ambition, which the Herald writers have *alternately* attributed to me, I disdain to answer them when I am writing to you.

But, though *I* have never devised or desired a change in your Church government, *others*, in great numbers, have; I mean other Catholics; for as to Protestants, they, of course, must always wish it to be changed, and even destroyed. Instead, however, of enumerating the works written by Catholics, or mentioning the respectable personages among them, who have negotiated in favour of this change, so far as to recommend the vesting of *an absolute and uncontrouled power* in the Crown over all our prelacies in both kingdoms, I shall satisfy myself with citing the declaration, upon this head, of the celebrated and well informed writer, whose publications have been more read, and have produced a greater effect than those of any other of our advocates whomsoever; I mean

mean Peter Plymley, so called. This is then, what he published in his Ninth Letter, a little before the late debates on the Catholic Petition :
 “ *To my certain knowledge the Catholics have*
 “ *long since expressed to his Majesty’s ministers*
 “ *their perfect readiness to vest in his Majesty,*
 “ *either with the consent of the Pope, or*
 “ *without it, if it cannot be obtained, the*
 “ *nomination of the Catholic prelacy.*” There was then a powerful conspiracy of still growing strength, to which several of our Catholics were accessory, for enslaving the Catholic Church of both islands, or rather for extinguishing what I have called its *vital principle* : but so far was I from being a party to it, that I prepared myself to oppose it, whenever it might break forth, with all my might, as I am well known to have opposed other attempts of the same tendency.

Some of your prelates, particularly two venerable metropolitans, will testify, that I consulted with them long ago upon the best means of averting the dreaded mischief, and that I went up to London, the last time I was there, for the express purpose of making such efforts, as it might be in my power to make, against it. That noble Lord also, whose zeal in your cause made him a sort of courier between London and Dublin, in the worst weather of last spring, will testify, that in every one of the visits with
 which

which he honoured me in travelling between those capitals, I never failed to warn him, in the most emphatic language, against consenting to the projected change. You will certainly conclude, that I had taken such means as seemed to me, at the time, sufficient for ascertaining the sentiments of the Irish prelates on this momentous concern. To be brief, I did understand that these sentiments perfectly agreed with my own; namely, that we could not, to save our lives, yield the direct patronage of our hierarchy, or the right of appointing Catholic bishops, to an A-Catholic state or sovereign; but that it would not be contrary to the faith or essential discipline of our religion, to yield that sort of negative interference, which has been so often explained, provided *it were otherwise expedient*, for the welfare of the Catholic religion or of the Catholics themselves. Of this latter point I never took upon myself to judge, but I understood that your prelates, whose *exclusive right* it was to judge of it, were disposed to grant it out of a regard to you, their flock; namely, as the price of your civil rights, and the condition of your emancipation. For you are sensible that we, the ministers of the Catholic religion, and the religion itself, are to derive no benefit from the emancipation: come when it may, it is understood that we are to remain after it, just as we are before it. With

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respect

respect to yourselves, the Catholics of Ireland, I was not honoured with any commission from you, and I never took upon myself to judge of your political interests or your national feelings : there were other persons every way better qualified, and those duly authorized to attend to them, and who at the same time were privy to, and witnesses of, every step that I subsequently took. In a word, it never once entered into my imagination (here I confess my egregious error) that you, or any part of you, would conceive an alteration in the process of recommending candidates for episcopal institutions, to undermine “ the only undestroyed monument of your national grandeur,” any more than the different changes which have taken place in this respect since the year 1682 have done. So far from this, I really believed that you wished every concession, consistent with the principles of our common religion, to be made by your clergy, in order to obtain a complete redress of your existing grievances, and to annihilate for ever those odious distinctions which still make you, the population of the country, an inferior cast in it. I had seen Maynooth accepted with gratitude ; I had witnessed your patient acquiescence in those disgraceful formularies of allegiance, unexampled in the history of civilized states, which I have mentioned above. For I judge of your feelings,

my

my brethren, by my own; and I solemnly declare, that I never felt myself so humbled in all my life, as when, in the public court at Winchester, I was forced to swear that "I did not think myself bound by my adherence to the Catholic Church (that Church which my Protestant fellow-subjects call HOLY whenever they repeat their creed) to rebel, to commit murder, and every other sin; and, lastly, *to perjure myself!*" Oh! with what enthusiastic ardour and galling sarcasm, have I not heard my respected acquaintance, and your immortal advocate, the great Fox, dwell upon the absurdity of calling upon men to swear, that they think themselves obliged to keep an oath!

But, to return to my defence: the very first morning after my arrival in London, and in consequence, I am persuaded, of my earnest cautions^{as} (mentioned above) to a noble and worthy personage, I was summoned to attend certain illustrious parliamentary friends, when this question was put to me, as nearly as I can recollect: "What sort of power^{are} the Catholic bishops of Ireland ~~were~~ disposed to yield to the Crown, in order to bring about the emancipation?" The question, you observe, was, as the business itself was, not about my own dispositions or concessions, but about those of the *Irish bishops*. How now, I pray you, was

I to act in these circumstances? Methinks every honest man amongst you would say, "Satisfy our friends to the best of your knowledge and belief; but take care not to add a word beyond that." Well, my brethren, I did exactly this; I answered, "that I had no instructions from the prelates to speak to this point, (in fact I had partly ventured to hope that reference would be made to them upon the business,) and that there was not time to obtain any answer from Ireland previously to the day (namely, the ensuing Wednesday) fixed upon for the debate." I added, that I was convinced the prelates neither would nor could yield any *positive power* to the Crown in the business; nevertheless that I had good reason to believe (as in fact I had good reason, and as some of the most distinguished prelates have, since the assembly, publicly declared I had) that they were willing, upon the conditions, and in the circumstances mentioned, to concede *a certain negative power*: namely, that which has been so often explained. But, again and again, I emphatically repeated, that I could give *no pledge on their part*. I must here observe that, though I conceived it possible, ^{that} the dispositions of the bishops might be mentioned in parliament; I had not the least idea that it would come forward in the shape of a *distinct proposal*. I must also remark, that

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the word *Veto* never occurred in any one communication which I held with our parliamentary friends, or previously with the bishops. In fact, it does not correspond with the idea which I entertained of the negative interference. The word was affixed to it, in Ireland, by those who were enemies to the interference in general.

It was so well understood by the personages alluded to, that I gave *no pledge* whatever on the part of the prelates, and, in short, that I did nothing more than declare *my opinion* concerning their disposition, that I was pressed to do what I was otherwise resolved upon doing, namely, to lose no time in consulting them upon the point. Accordingly, on the very day of my first conference with those personages, namely, on Saturday, May 21, I wrote to each of the four Catholic metropolitans, giving them an account of what had passed, and assuring them in particular, that “ I had entered into
 “ no pledge on their part, but that they were
 “ at liberty to throw me, like another Jonas,
 “ into the sea, in case they were not willing to
 “ sanction the measure.” Had I received, in due course, an answer to this effect from any one of them, or from any other prelate, (for I wrote to other prelates,) most undoubtedly I should have communicated the circumstance to our friends in parliament, and, I make no doubt, a proper explanation would have taken place in
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that assembly. But no such letter did I receive during the whole time of my continuance in London, which was till about the middle of June; nor indeed any other letter, which did not lead me to suppose that the measure would be sanctioned. It is true, that after I had quitted the capital, for Hampshire and Dorsetshire, that is to say, when it was too late for me to state the circumstance to members of the legislature, I received letters from three prelates, stating objections against the royal interference *in toto*. But not one of these “finds the least “fault with my conduct,” whatever the anonymous Herald writers, who pretend to know the contents of my letters better than I do myself, have asserted to the contrary.* I will not publish the confidential communications of my friends in the newspapers, as these writers very decently call upon me to do,† but they shall at all times be forthcoming to the prelates themselves.

You will naturally suppose, that if I was in such haste to communicate to my constituents the contents of private conferences regarding them, I should not be more slow in disavowing those false and detestable newspaper reports of the parliamentary debates, which represented me, as authorizing a proposal for making an
A-Catholic

* Evening Herald, Nov. 13.

† Ibid.

A-Catholic king to become virtually the head of the Irish Catholic Church. No, my brethren; if I were capable of making or consenting to such a proposal, or even conceding to the Crown any *real efficient power or jurisdiction, little or great, direct or indirect, open or secret*, you may depend upon it, I would act a more consistent part; I would make better terms for myself; in a word, I would take the oath provided for the purpose, I mean the oath of the King's spiritual supremacy. The fact is, the very morning on which this lying and scandalous report of the debates appeared, which was no other than that on which they terminated in the House of Commons May 26, amidst the religious duties of the festival * I drew up, and caused to be printed, a formal disavowal of the scandalous imputation, and of certain other errors connected with it. It was my earnest wish to insert this in the newspapers, which had I done, I should still have retained your good opinion: but in this instance I sacrificed your favour, to what was considered by persons acting in your name, and by some of the greatest ornaments of the Catholic body, as your interest. In brief, I contented myself, with circulating this printed disavowal among the prelates and a very few other friends, after it had been shewn

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* Ascension Day.

to your parliamentary advocates; no one of whom condescended to authorize my circulation of it with greater kindness, than the Right. Hon. George Ponsonby.

It may be objected to me that, in the interval between the debates in parliament and the assembly of the bishops, I was active and industrious in defending and promoting the plan in question. I grant, my brethren, that, considering it as a measure which virtually had already obtained the sanction of your metropolitans and senior bishops, and having sufficient grounds for supposing that it would obtain the sanction of the assembled prelacy, I took some pains to explain certain circumstances to some of them, which they had not otherwise means of becoming acquainted with, and of obviating objections which to me seemed ill founded; still adhering to that axiom which I published in the newspapers, and from which I have not, for one moment, swerved by act, by word, or by thought, that to the Catholic prelates of Ireland, and to them alone, belonged the final decision upon this momentous business. Nevertheless my principal business, during the time in question, was to enforce, by every means in my power, and with all sorts of persons, and every where, the necessity of those checks or restraints upon the regal interference, (an interference that, as I have said, I considered as already
virtually

virtually granted,) which, I was satisfied, your prelates would, upon mature reflection, find indispensibly necessary for the independency of your Church; though I was not aware they had heretofore sufficiently prescribed them, and without which, be assured, I would not have been agent in the business to save my life. Here then, my brethren, is my sole crime, if I was guilty of any; namely, that having reason to believe your prelates were disposed to grant a negative interference to the Crown, I devised the most effectual limitations of which it was susceptible, for preventing your hierarchy from being enslaved or injured by it. This is the only act and deed, throughout the whole business, which, properly speaking, belongs to Dr. Milner.

Having now been counsel in my own cause, let me also be cryer in it.—How say you, my Jury: GUILTY or NOT GUILTY?—Take notice, I do not call for your verdict upon the impeachment of Mr. Attorney General Sarsfield, and Mr. Solicitor General Laicus, before the Parliament of Pimlico, namely, that “Dr. Milner, not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being moved by the instigation of the devil, under the form of thirty pieces of silver, has conspired to adopt certain resolutions—subversive of the faith, he was sworn to protect.” No, my brethren, I do not ask for your decision upon this charge, as I

am already perfectly sure upon whose head, your verdict of GUILTY, in this case, would fall. But I call upon you to pronounce upon the two first counts or charges in the former indictment against me, relative to my conduct, previously to the meeting of the bishops. First—Have I *devised*, or *conspired with other persons to devise a veto, or other plan*, for admitting ~~of~~ the royal interference in the election of your bishops? Secondly, have I *granted*, or *engaged that the bishops should grant any veto*, or other interference of the Crown in this business?—I am sure what your verdict is on both these points; and therefore, I now proceed to ask you further, whether, upon the whole of the case, I appear to have acted any other part than that of a faithful agent to your prelates, anxious to learn and express their sentiments and transact their business, with the ultimate view of serving you, but still more anxious to preserve from subjection, and every other danger, one of the most venerable and important portions of that Catholic Church, of which I myself am a prelate?

I shall now be asked, why I did not publish the explanation six months ago, when I was called upon to do so, in the newspapers, and thereby “save myself and the nation an immensity of trouble and anxiety?”* I answer, that I published sufficient reasons at the time, but
 . that

* Evening Herald, Nov. 16.

that I had a still more powerful motive, in my own breast, for not obeying the requisition then made to me. I was satisfied by private letters, as well as by those published in the Herald, * that the writers, who are now employed in executing their denunciation against me, were then desirous of sparing † my character to the utmost of their power, and of turning their vengeance on the prelates; particularly upon one of them, whose virtues I revere and love, and who, at all times, labours under more than his full share of obloquy and persecution. In these circumstances, my brethren, I judged, as I always shall judge in similar circumstances, that it was better the flock should think ill of, and be incensed against a stranger, than against their own pastors; and however anxious I may be in taking this leave of you, to regain your esteem and affection, I give you my honest word, I would not publish this Appeal to you on any account, if I did not think that, in the existing circumstances, I can do so, without any risk of occasioning the slightest jealousy between you and your native prelates.

I come now to the third head of accusation against me, that which regards my conduct since the decision of the bishops. It is this charge, as I understand, from private letters, which chiefly indisposes the generality of you,

* Evening Herald, Aug. 5. Sept. 2. † Sept. 2.

even the pious and edifying part of you, even my warm friends, as well as my bitter foes against me. This part of my indictment stands as follows: "that Dr. Milner is enthusiastically
 " attached to the plan of the *veto*, against which
 " the bishops have unanimously decided; and
 " that he has written a letter in the Morning
 " Chronicle, which has filled the nation with
 " astonishment, and excited loud and general
 " censure on his wanton and impolitic renewal
 " of hostilities."—I can refute this accusation, my brethren, in three words: but, for your more complete satisfaction, I will previously enter into some explanation regarding it.

It is clear to me, by all my letters from Ireland, that my friends there, fancy *all the public reside in Dublin*. In the agitation occasioned by their detestation of this *veto*, so called, they forget that in my situation I have various relations with the English, no less than I have with the Irish: they seem insensible that there is an imperial parliament about to meet in this island, which is sure to agitate the question of the *veto*, though I were to observe the most profound silence concerning it; and that without explanation from some quarter or other, the honour and character of those personages, to whose interests I cannot be indifferent, I mean the Catholic bishops, are liable to be grievously misrepresented, to the great detriment of religion itself.

self. I must add that there are certain distinguished members of this parliament, to whom we are all infinitely indebted, and who therefore have a right to demand justice at ^{our} ~~our~~ hand.—To speak of these first: it is well known that these parliamentary friends, who have not only exerted their unrivalled ^{talents}, but have also sacrificed their high situations and ample emoluments *twice over* in our cause, and who, if they have not succeeded in it, have at least prepared the way for success, and who have actually restored our good name, at the expense of their own popularity; it is well known, I say, that they had, for a long time previously to the appearance of my letter, in the Morning Chronicle, been traduced by their political adversaries, in the ministerial papers, as a set of impostors, who had deceived parliament and the public, by pretending to have held conferences with me, relative to the disposition of your bishops, while no such thing had taken place. In proof of this allegation, they cited my words published in the Evening Herald of July 29; “that I would
 “ sooner lose my life than be instrumental in a
 “ ^{Protestant} Catholic king's obtaining any power or influence over any part of the Catholic Church.”
 Now, my brethren, it was very easy to shew that this declaration no way militated against the existence of those conferences; in as much as the negative interference, as I have always explained

explained it, did not go to confer any such power or influence on his Majesty. This being so, I appeal to your hearts, whether I ought to have refused that easy reparation, in my power, to the character of friends, who have done so much to raise yours?

It is notorious, that the English public, whose ideas, of course, were not more accurate than those of ministerial writers, were astounded and indignant at the whole of the business in question, and were led to believe and report the most extravagant and injurious stories concerning all the Catholics, who had been mentioned or alluded to in it. You will easily believe this, when I inform you that many of our most dignified and best informed Catholics, as well as very many Protestants, have, to my certain knowledge, maintained and published, that I “ requested Lord F. to introduce me to certain
“ great men, whom I persuaded to propose the
“ plan in question, on the part of the bishops,
“ and that then I went over to Ireland to in-
“ duce these bishops to reject it.” Again, it is certain that a great number of our most pious English Catholics, and even those of my own flock, were scandalized at my conduct, supposing me to have acknowledged a branch of the royal ecclesiastical supremacy ; whilst other well disposed Protestants were offended at my alleged punctiliousness in insisting upon the above mentioned

tioned checks or restraints upon the negative power; at the same time that they admitted, we had a right to provide for the security of our Church. Now, my friends, it appeared to me that all these objections might be answered, and all this mischief be removed by one plain and candid explanation of the whole matter in the newspapers; nor have I found reason, since the publication of it, to alter my opinion, in these respects, at least as far as England is concerned. Lastly, I know for certain, from different quarters, that the motives by which the bishops were actuated in forming the resolutions, were grossly misapprehended by persons of consequence. The bishops were even suspected of having been tampered with by ministers; in the same manner as your Herald writers have charged me with that baseness. Violent threats of censure, at the meeting of parliament, if not something worse, were thrown out against them, and I was particularly cautioned not to unite my cause with theirs. In a word, ~~the~~ ^{the} worst of consequences to our holy religion were seriously apprehended by me. Now it appeared to me, my brethren, that if I could not wholly disperse this storm, I might at least mitigate its violence, and prevent some of its bad consequences, by shewing that the prelates had acted upon good and laudable motives in forming their resolutions; being the same motives, in substance,

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to the best of my memory, which I had heard them, and one venerable metropolitan, in particular, allege as the grounds of their decision. One of the Herald writers terms these reasons "unanswerable,"* while another accuses me of a "breach of confidence"; ~~in~~ denying at the same time their authenticity, and calling them inadequate, or impertinent, or false or malicious."† I will not enter into a controversy with this writer, about the authenticity or the superior propriety and strength of the motives which we respectively assign; but this I will do; if any three of the bishops will disavow the motives, or any of them, which I, in the sincerity of my zeal for them and for our common religion, God knows, attributed to them, I will publish my retraction in the newspapers, or in any other way that may be prescribed.

To be brief, the letter which has been so complained of by ~~so~~ many upright and pious Catholics, in Ireland, has been more applauded, as I can easily prove, by the same description of Catholics in England, than any other publication of mine which has appeared for a long time past. It has also given great satisfaction to many impartial, independent Protestants, and I trust has been productive, in a great measure, of the good effects which I had in view

* Evening Herald, Dec. 5. † Evening Herald, Dec. 2.

view in writing it. It is not considered in England, as “a perseverance in, and a still pressing of a measure” which the bishops have rejected, but quite the contrary. In proof of this, I may refer to the *Monthly Review* (no contemptible authority, like the *Anti-jacobin Review*) for November last, published soon after my letter in the Morning Chronicle appeared. I have not the number before me, but the sense of the passage I allude to I believe is this; that “since “ Dr. Milner and his episcopal friends in Ireland “ *do not approve of the Veto*, the Reviewers “ hope Parliament will not insist upon it as “ a condition of the emancipation.”

Having made these observations, I now come to the short, the satisfactory refutation of the charge on which you ground your present animosity against me; and I thus declare before the world, that, as I never was attached to, and never should have thought of, the plan of the Crown obtaining a negative interference, called by you a veto, in the nomination of your bishops, had I not been persuaded, upon sufficient grounds, that it had been previously approved of by your bishops; so, from the moment of its being rejected and condemned by them, at their late meeting, I have never said, done, or imagined any thing by way of reviving or encouraging it, in any shape or degree whatsoever. If this does not satisfy you, and you

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require me to give my vote upon a question on which I never yet have voted, and on which I have no claim to vote ; I declare, that, since those venerable personages, who are the proper and authorized judges of the matter, find his Majesty's interference in any shape, or in any degree whatever, in the choice of your bishops, to be inexpedient, *I, Dr. Milner, also do declare it to be inexpedient.*

But, take notice, my Catholic brethren, that in making this declaration, I have, I hope in God, been swayed by motives of conscience only ; not by the desire of disengaging myself from that hornet's nest in the Evening Herald, which has been annoying me for these six months past ; ^{ever} ~~nor~~ by the desire of regaining, what is certainly very dear to me, but which is an inadequate motive of action for a minister of him, who was *the outcast of men, and the reproach of the people*, to be guided by ; I mean your favour and confidence. Hence I would not on this, or any other account, advance one step beyond the truth. In declaring the plan, as checked and limited by me, to be still *inexpedient*, I will not allow it to be "contrary to the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, or to any practice or usage essentially and indispensibly connected with the Roman Catholic religion." Much less will I give into the many extravagant, scandalous and erroneous propositions of the anonymous writers

in the newspapers, who take upon themselves to contradict your venerable, learned, and intelligent Primate, and to correct the resolution of the whole prelacy itself. I am struck with horror at the language of one of these writers, who, professing to imitate the Emperor Constantine, in covering the scandalizing bishop with his own cloak, nevertheless describes the metropolitans and other senior bishops, the glory and defence of pure faith and virtue in Ireland, as having for a long time “their slumbers broken by the torturing
“visions of an affrighted conscience, and as
“weeping for the lost blessings of innocent
“repose.”* I will not permit my pious correspondents to institute a comparison between them and the great Fenelon, revoking a real and dangerous error, which had been condemned by the Church. Nor shall any writer, under his own name, who is certified to me as being a gentleman and a canonist, tell me without refutation, that I have countenanced a plan which is contrary to the faith, or to the essential discipline of the Catholic Church. Should such a controversy take place, it will then be seen whether I have yet “ransacked history and
“the canon law for those numberless forcible precedents,”† and arguments, which they

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are

* *Inimicus Veto*, p. 24.† *Evening Herald*, Dec. 5.

are capable of furnishing for the purpose in question; and whether I cannot answer the several objections which certain friends of mine, persons of distinguished genius and learning, have adduced against it. But I do not so much as hint at the nature of these materials at present, lest I should again be accused of "furnishing arguments," in favour of a plan which, however *lawful* in itself, I have condemned as *inexpedient*. One remark only I shall add, by way of shewing that the persons who describe the plan, as being "a dereliction of the Catholic faith, an apostacy," &c. do, in fact, pretend to correct, and do virtually contradict the resolution of the assembled prelates; namely, that the latter have contented themselves with pronouncing the measure *inexpedient*. Would they employ this word in censuring a measure which they judged to be in itself *irreligious* or *immoral*? Would they solemnly declare, that it is *inexpedient to abolish the Seven Sacraments, or the Ten Commandments*?

Upon another point also I must feel myself obliged to protest against the extravagance of these writers, and indeed against the errors of many persons of all the three following descriptions: the statesmen, the Catholic minority, who are impatient to recover their civil rights, and the Catholic majority, who consider the hierarchy as a monument of their national grandeur.

grandeur. All these argue that, because they are, one way or other, *interested* in the state of the *hierarchy*, therefore they have an undoubted natural *right* to be *consulted* about it.* Why, my brethren, there is not a poor peasant amongst you, who is not as much interested in the decision of every article of Catholic faith and discipline, as are the bishops and the Pope himself; because his soul is as dear to him as their souls are to them; but it does not thence follow that he has an equal right to deliberate and to vote upon these matters with them, who are the judges of faith and legislators of discipline, either in synod or out of it: and I will undertake to demonstrate, if necessary, that all the numberless changes of discipline, which have taken place in different ages and countries, (including those which have taken place in your own country) have been made by the bishops or the Pope, without ever once consulting the people. No doubt, these pastors pay a proper degree of attention, on all such occasions, to the wishes as well as to the welfare of their flocks; but this is a very different thing from acknowledging them to have a *natural indefeasible right* to judge, and pronounce on such matters. How absurd then, as well as erroneous, is the language of a late writer, who describes

* Evening Herald, Sept. 12, Dec. 2, &c.

describes your four metropolitans and six other prelates as "guilty of robbery and sacrilege!" who talks of "the birthright of our baptism, "and the prerogatives of our faith" in the jargon of whiggism! and who asserts, that the "Pope "would more easily be deposed for attempting "to compel, than would the Catholics of Ireland "be condemned for resisting the penal inno-
 "vation!"* This is a language, my brethren, which, as every divine knows, nearly borders upon schism. But, instead of stopping to confute it, I will place before your eyes the luminous and energetical address of the great Bossuet, relative to the pretended natural rights of Christians in the Church of God. "Thus speaks "the Catholic Church to her christian children. "You are a people, a state, and a society: but "Jesus Christ, who is your king, *holds nothing "from you: his authority is of a higher origin; "you have no better natural right, as to the "appointment of his ministers, than you have "to appoint Christ himself to be your king."*†

The remaining observations which I have here to make shall be contracted within as few words as possible. It is then a shameful falsehood, and an outrage upon the Holy See, as well as upon me, to publish, that "the head "of the Church, whom I had consulted, about
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* Evening Herald, Dec. 2.

† Variat. B. xv.

“ the interference of the Crown, had declared
 “ to me, in the words of Benedict XIV. that
 “ were he to attempt to give effect to such a
 “ power, he should deserve the execration of
 “ the christian world.”* The original letter, from
 which this passage is said to be taken, now
 lies before me, and I do positively assure you
 that it distinctly refers to *a positive power of*
nomination in the Crown ; whereas a negative
interference is spoken of in very different terms.
 It is an equally glaring falsehood, that “ in
 “ all my speeches and essays it has escaped me,
 “ that if the Pope, from certain knowledge,
 “ were to judge a candidate unfit, he must even
 “ keep his faculties at home, &c.” in consequence
 of which supposed blunder on my part, the
 writer proceeds to insult me in his usual style.
 Ask any of your prelates, my brethren, for a
 sight of my first printed paper, dated May 26;
 you will there see that the rights of the Holy
 See were not forgotten by me, nor passed
 over in my communications with members of
 parliament. But when the phantom called
Detector is itself *detected* in issuing lying oracles,
 Mr. A. or Mr. B. will walk the streets with the
 same confidence as usual. My meaning, in
 using the epithets *factionous* and *seditionous* in my
 letter to the English public, has been *enlarged* by
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* Evening Herald, Dec. 2. Nov. 30.

the same writer within the compass of a few lines, to "the whole Catholic population of the country," and has been contracted to "one distinguished gentleman."* The shortest way with these terms, under such circumstances, is to retract them, without further explanation, as I now publicly do. With respect to the gentleman alluded to, the most I have heard of him from my friends in Dublin is, that the Catholics of Ireland are indebted to him for the constitutional privilege, which has chiefly contributed to raise them to their present national consequence. "*Palnam qui meruit ferat !*" I do not envy him his fair praise: praise ought to be no object to me. Were I to interfere again in the affairs of Ireland, and were I possessed of any influence among you, my brethren, all my efforts would be directed to the uniting of all the talents, yes, **ALL THE TALENTS** of Ireland as well as England, in the common cause. The only persons among you, against whom I would declare war, are those who try to divide you, and to animate one class against another. But God in his mercy prevent that I should ever oppose, as I am accused, or despise or neglect *the poor*, of all others; the poor, to whom I have been a willing slave all my life!—The same method of retract-

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* Evening Herald, Dec. 5.

ing, is the best and most congenial to my feelings, with respect to the unfortunate epithet of *wrong-headed*, which has been incessantly hurled back at my head, for several months past, both in print and in manuscript. Now I solemnly declare, that neither in my meaning nor in the context of my paper, does the term apply to any other clergymen, except the very limited number, perhaps three or four, who were the subject of my correspondence with the parish priest. However, as the word has been so much enlarged beyond my meaning and its own, I revoke it, and beg the Catholic Clergy of Ireland to accept of this public apology for my having made use of it. At the same time, however, I have one request to make them, that if they know of any writer or other person who has travelled farther, put himself to more expense, or taken greater pains to vindicate and raise their character for natural and acquired talents, as well as for virtue and piety, than the author of the letters from Ireland, some one of them will have the goodness to transmit to me the name of that person.

I cannot bring myself to make any apology to my honoured friends, your prelates, because I am perfectly sure there is neither a substantive nor an adjective, nor any other part of speech, in all my writings, that can even be tortured into a meaning disrespectful to them, or to any

one of them. One of the Herald writers, after caricaturing, in the most indecent manner, the persons of three or four of your most dignified and amiable prelates, tries to press me into his service on account of my *looks*! He says that, on some occasion or other, I “surveyed the prelates with a sarcastic leer, shewing that I “knew them well.”* Others, who, again and again, have denied the competency of the bishops to decide upon the late question,† and have threatened to abandon them‡ and the Pope too,§ if it were settled contrary to their wishes; who have talked of suspending the prelates, like Mohammed’s tomb, in the air,|| and have tauntingly advised them to “recant their religion, “rather than improve upon apostacy, like “bishop Judas;”¶ finally, who have tried to spirit up the second order of the clergy to take the important business, then pending, out of the hands of the prelates into their own: “*Exper-*
gescimini aliquando et capescite rempubli-
cam;”** these Herald writers, I say, now reproach me with “addressing the Irish prelates” (namely, when I was addressing the English public) “like a bullying dictator, prophesying, what I am determined to do myself, “namely, to overwhelm them with public censure in the course of two months”†† from the date

* Evening Herald, Sept. 23. † Aug. 5, Dec. 2, &c.

‡ Sept. 26. § Dec. 2. || Sept. 23. ¶ Sept. 26.

** Sent. 12. †† Dec. 5.

date of my letter. Such, my fellow-Christians, is the charitable construction which these boasted good Catholics (oh! the malice of the bitterest Orangeman is charity compared with theirs) put upon the intimation I gave of my apprehension of the prelates being severely treated in parliament; in consequence of which I openly, before the meeting of parliament, made common cause with them, in opposition to my own interest and the advice of all my friends, by publishing, in the English newspapers, certain arguments on their behalf, which these very writers, on the self-same occasion, allow to be "unanswerable."*

I have said, that I cannot bring myself to apologize to your bishops, because my heart revolts at the very idea of ever having offended them. But I will bring the matter to as short and decisive an issue as if I were to apologize. In case then you, my brethren, in reading over any book or paper which I have published, or may hereafter publish, should, from your own judgment, and without the comments of any anonymous writer, find one sentence, or one innuendo, which you conscientiously believe to be injurious to ^{the} authority, or disrespectful to the character of your prelates; do not, indeed, burn or hang me in effigy, according to the sentence of these writers,† because this would be a breach of the peace; nor vent your indignation "in

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* Evening Herald, Dec. 5.

† Sept. 26.

“ the most violent imprecations and maledictions” on my head, and “ on the heads of some of your bishops and the whole body of the clergy,” as these men scandalously assert you did not long ago,* because this would be a sin against God, which would render your faith of no avail to your salvation: but burn all my books which you can lay your hands upon; never read any of my publications in future, and rank my name with the Duigenans and the Musgraves. In a word, to prevent the mischiefs complained of, in future insist upon these mens’ publishing their names, in order that they and I may hereafter, and to the end of our lives, contend together, not by words, but by our conduct, in a contempt of money, and all worldly advantages; in respect and obedience to all ecclesiastical superiors; and in uniformly supporting the spiritual rights and freedom of the Catholic Church against all encroachments, whether regal or democratical. One more word, and I have done. These writers boast of having “ put me down in argument,” at the same time that they allow I have “ put down all my former antagonists:”† insist upon it then, for your credit, and that of our religion, that they keep these antagonists down, now they are down; as my studies must necessarily take a different course from that which they have for some time held.

If

If these writers, who are so much my superiors in genius and literature, do but exert half the spirit and industry against your worst enemies, which they have long been exerting against your honest, zealous, and disinterested advocate, the Musgraves will no more blast your character with forgeries, nor the Ledwiches rob you of your apostle and ancient faith. I am, and ever shall remain, your faithful and affectionate friend and fellow Catholic,

JOHN MILNER, D. D.

Wolverhampton, Jan. 9, 1809.

P. S. Just as I have concluded this Appeal, I have received two different works from Dublin, published within these few days, by clergymen of the established Church, in which I am severely handled, as well as the Church to which I have the happiness to belong. Of the author of one of them, * I know no more than that, according to what he tells us of himself, in his title page and at the beginning of his book, he is "*such a one as Paul the aged*," that is to say, *such a one as St. Paul the apostle*. Of course the Catholics of Ireland will know him, by his *hungering, thirsting, nakedness, stripes,*
&c. in

* An Address to the Clergy of the United Church in Ireland on the present Crisis, 1809. Watson.

&c. in short, by his apostolical labours and sanctity in general; and they will have felt the effects of all this, in the innumerable multitude he must have reclaimed from their *antichristian apostacy*: for his principal aim is to prove that such is the ancient religion of Ireiand, and that I am “amongst his most acrimoniously active
 “enemies,” in supporting this apostacy, and the
 “soul of the league formed to rob the esta-
 “blished clergy of their property, to vilify the
 “character of their priesthood, and to assert
 “a superiority in the clergy of another deno-
 “mination over them in every qualification and
 “endowment that can render ministers of the
 “gospel worthy of their sacred function, and
 “useful to God’s people,” p. 5, 6.—The other work, which is interesting for its very title, * is written by my former very entertaining opponent, Dr. Ryan, and is well worth being regarded by those Catholics, who can afford to buy it. It is almost all levelled at me, as the capital enemy of that *conciliatory plan*, which he so strongly recommends to the Catholics. What he proposes is to make peace with the Catholics, and to allow of their *superstition, immorality*, and even their *idolatry*, provided they

* *Strictures on Dr. Milner’s Tour, and on Mr. Clinch’s Enquiry, with a New Plan for obtaining Emancipation, &c. a Conciliatory Tract, by Edward Ryan, D. D. 1809. Watson.*

they will only give up their doctrine concerning *heresy* and the *Pope's spiritual supremacy*, and *unite with him*, who is a Milesian like themselves, *against me*, a foreigner, and a vicar of that usurper, who deprived him of his inheritance 700 years ago. In addition to this general motive, he is extremely angry with me for not taking notice of his *Answer to Ward's Errata*. On this head, I hope to make my peace with him, as soon as the work, which is now almost printed off in London, shall reach Dublin. But the most interesting parts of his book, in my regard, are those in which he maintains, that *I was the person who prevented the bishops* from consenting to the negative; that I went to Ireland for that express purpose, &c. &c.—He wrote this, with my letter to the parish priest, and that to the Morning Chronicle, lying before him. Now I would appeal even to the writers of the Herald, whether it is not extremely hard, that I should be accused, and formally condemned, upon opposite and *contradictory* charges, as I am in other instances, no less than in this? However, these men, who have “put me down in argument,” will set all these matters to rights, when they come to “put “down” the Ryans and the Elringtons, &c. as well as to keep down the Musgraves and the Ledwiches; which task is known to be now transferred into their hands.

I finish

I finish with one remark, which I hope will be seriously weighed, and not forgotten. However disastrous the late dispute concerning the admission of the *negative interference* of the Crown may have been in many respects, it has been infinitely less so, than a dispute about admitting its *positive interference* would have been. Now that the latter would have taken place, but for the existence of the former, clearly follows from certain circumstances stated above.

FINIS.

POSTSCRIPT.

HAVING, contrary to my expectations, learned that the press is still open, I take the opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of three new pamphlets, which, in addition to the two above-mentioned, have issued from the Dublin presses, against me, in the course of the present month; one of these is called “Reflections on the appointment of Dr. Milner, as agent, &c. by the Rev. Dr. Elrington,” and consists chiefly of the foulest misrepresentation of the Catholic hierarchy and clergy of Ireland, since the reign of Elizabeth. As such, I leave it in the hands of those of my Catholic brethren of that country, who are so much better qualified by their talents, information and zeal, to avenge the cause of their country, religion and sainted predecessors, than I am. I can do this with the greater satisfaction, as one respectable personage, who is eminently qualified in all the above-mentioned points, has just thrown down the gauntlet in this very cause to all our adversaries; * and as it will be found, when my Second

* FIDELIS on the Royal Veto, p. 13.

Tour through Ireland, with the annexed Letters, appears, now nearly printed off, that I have found an occasion of giving a sufficient reproof to Dr. Elrington for his personal misrepresentation of my conduct and writings. On one point alone I will here meet his present statements; namely, by denying that there is any contradiction between the *countenance* (for such alone is the proper term) which I gave to a plan for admitting a certain negative interference of the crown in the election of Catholic bishops, and the *declaration* which I published of my readiness "to shed my blood, rather than consent " to an A-Catholic king's obtaining any power " or influence in this business." The fact is, that in discussing this plan, which is neither of my invention nor of my choice, I proposed (the only proposal which came from me) such restrictions as, in my judgment, would have excluded all such real and efficient power or influence.

The two other pamphlets against me are, I am assured, written by real and highly respectable Catholic friends of mine, being both of them on the subject of the Veto, so called. Their authors proceed on the following mistaken notion: first, that I, Dr. Milner, *made a proposal*, or authorized our parliamentary friends to make a proposal, of the said veto: secondly, that in laying *before the prelates*, previous to their meeting,

meeting, a certain memorial, called “A Letter to a Parish Priest,” (which, I declare upon my honour, was printed for no other purpose than that each prelate might have a copy of it) the arguments that had been adduced in favour of the plan, I endeavoured to oblige them to adopt it: thirdly, that in publishing, since that meeting, in the English Morning Chronicle, an explanation and vindication of my own conduct, and that of my friends, particularly of the bishops, with respect to past transactions, I warmly advocated the condemned plan, and endeavoured to revive it.

As matters stand, I see very plainly that I must not venture to question the justice of a single statement, the conclusiveness of a single argument, or the propriety of a single measure, or even expression, which has been made use of against me, by any writer whomsoever, in opposition to this said veto; as I find by experience, that every thing of this sort, whether written for the press, or in private correspondence, is misrepresented, garbled or misquoted in the strangest and most uncharitable way possible. Hence there seems no other resource left for me, nor means of satisfying the Irish public, both Catholic and Protestant, than, after giving to them what has been for so many months in the press, on the affairs of Ireland, to observe a total silence with respect to them
in

in future. This measure, I should hope, would at least satisfy *the writers* on both sides of the controversy; namely, Sarsfield, and Lâicus, and Detector, and Inimicus Veto, and Fidelis, and the Parish Priest, no less than Sir Richard Musgrave, the Aged Clergyman, and the Doctors Duigenan, Ryan, Elrington and Ledwich.

Jan. 28, 1809.

LETTERS
Right
FROM THE ~~HON~~ REVEREND
DOCTOR MILNER,

(Which appeared in *THE STATESMAN*)

RESPECTING THE
QUESTION INTRODUCED INTO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

BY THE
RIGHT HON. GEORGE PONSONBY,

LATE
HIGH CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND,

RELATIVE TO
GRANTING TO HIS MAJESTY, BY THE IRISH CATHOLIC CHURCH,
OF A

VETO, OR NEGATIVE,

ON THE
CHOICE OF THE IRISH CATHOLIC PRELATES:

Together with

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING
A TRANSLATION FROM THE LATIN,

OF
AN ADDRESS

OF THE
IRISH CATHOLIC SYNOD TO THE CATHOLIC PRELATES
AND DIGNITARIES OF THE WHOLE WORLD,
PROTESTING AGAINST THE VIOLENCE OFFERED BY THE FRENCH
EMPEROR TO THE PERSON AND RIGHTS OF
POPE PIUS VII.

LONDON:

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1810.

[Price Two Shillings and Sixpence.]

LETTERS

AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

RELATIVE TO THE

PROGRESS OF THE

REFORMATION

IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

IN THE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

BY

JOHN RUSSELL

OF LINCOLN

IN TWO VOLUMES

LONDON

PRINTED BY

JOHN RUSSELL

AT THE SIGN OF THE

ROSE

IN ST. MARTIN'S LANE

1791

THE SECOND EDITION

WITH

ADDENDUM

AND

NOTES

BY

JOHN RUSSELL

OF LINCOLN

IN TWO VOLUMES

LONDON

PRINTED BY

JOHN RUSSELL

AT THE SIGN OF THE

ROSE

PREFACE.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE following Letters were first published in THE STATESMAN, from which they were copied into almost every Irish Newspaper, and into several of the English Provincial Newspapers. They have, therefore, had a very extensive circulation. There are, however, a vast multitude of persons interested in the subject of these Letters, great numbers of whom have expressed a wish to possess them in the more convenient form of a Pamphlet, and they are now offered to the Public in the present Publication, in compliance with that wish. They have certainly excited a very great degree of sensation, both here and in Ireland; and with much reason, for the topics of these Letters are important in themselves, and are connected with very elevated and respected public characters. It is not the Editor's intention to argue the question here, in any brief form, which Dr. MILNER has so completely met with a full and powerful argument. But he would ill do justice to his feelings, if he did not say, that the plain result of these Letters is—that Dr. MILNER has proved, that his whole conduct in the affair of the Veto, or His MAJESTY's Negative on the

appointment of the Catholic Bishops in Ireland, is becoming of that high dignity Dr. MILNER holds in the Catholic Church, and worthy of his great and honourable reputation. Dr. MILNER has proved, that Mr. PONSONBY, in pledging in the House of Commons, the Irish Catholic Prelates to an acquiescence in the Veto, did act without authority from Dr. MILNER, and that both Mr. PONSONBY and his partizans, Newspaper writers and others, have grossly misrepresented Dr. MILNER's conduct. The Editor does not impute unworthy motives to Mr. PONSONBY, but his statements, first and last, have produced a gross misrepresentation of Dr. MILNER's conduct in the affair of the Veto, and that learned Prelate did well to himself, and the whole country of England and Ireland, to develop the whole affair in the full and complete manner he has done in these Letters. He has proved himself to be an honest man, and after the imputations cast upon him by Mr. PONSONBY, it became the dignity of his rank in the Catholic Church to do so. As to the proceedings of a Junta in STANHOPE-STREET, relative to Dr. MILNER, the reader of these Letters will find his explanation of them highly interesting. In a word, Dr. MILNER has completely laid all his enemies at his feet; and the Editor, knowing his public and private worth, rejoices to see him triumph over them all.

In the APPENDIX to this Publication, the reader will find a most important Document, which will be the more interesting to him as it has never before been published. The Paper alluded to is a Translation from the Latin, of an Address from a full Synod of the Irish Catholic Bishops, to all the Catholic Pre-

lates, and other Dignitaries of the Romish Church, in every part of the world. The substance and object of this valuable document is—a PROTEST against the base, cruel, treacherous, and impious conduct of the FRENCH EMPEROR towards POPE PIUS VII. It is a production of great eloquence, religious zeal, and firmness of character. Of itself, it is sufficient to answer, and for ever repel, the wicked calumnies set on foot by persons who knew them to be false, against the Irish Catholic Prelates and Church. It shews that those upright and pious Prelates, and that Church, so far from being seduced or terrified by the French Emperor into any departure from their duties, are among the first to feel indignation and resent the wrongs committed by the perfidious tyrant. And it is a fair consequence to say, that if the French Emperor should at any time attempt to seduce the Irish Catholic Church from its duty to the civil rule of the Sovereign of these realms, his propositions would be met with disdain and repulsion. The zeal of the Irish Catholic Church, for the preservation of the purity of its own faith, rites, and church government and discipline, is a pledge, and no insignificant one, for its due love and regard for all its other duties. Away then, and for ever away, with all the prejudices, industriously spread amongst us, against the loyalty of the Irish Catholic Prelates and Church; and away also with the foolish dread of the influence of the French Emperor over their minds! These prejudices are so unfounded, that they might well be treated as ridiculous, were it not known that, silly as they are, they have been used to keep the Irish Catholics out of their civil rights, at the hazard of DISMEMBERING

and DESTROYING the EMPIRE of these REALMS. But henceforth, let the term disloyal be transferred from the Irish Catholic Prelates, Clergy and Church, to their enemies! Let it be known, that their enemies are the enemies of their SOVEREIGN, and are but too fatally employed in undermining the legitimate authority and rights of himself and of his whole House!

LONDON,
July 13, 1810.

DR. MILNER'S

LETTERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE STATESMAN.

SIR,

IN consequence of a paragraph which lately appeared in your Paper, I feel myself called upon once again, and that in a more public manner, to clear up the misunderstanding which took place between a certain Right Honourable Gentleman and myself two years ago, relative to the appointment of Irish Catholic Bishops.

To be as brief, then, as possible—I never authorized any person to make a proposal on that or on any other subject in Parliament; nor was I ever led to suppose that such a proposal would be made, till I heard it in the House of Commons on Wednesday night, May 25, 1808.—Having waited, by invitation, on the personage

in question *, four days before the Debate on the Catholic Question came on, and being asked, in quality of Agent to the Catholic Bishops of Ireland, what concessions they would make to the Crown, in future nominations to their vacant Sees, I answered, “That they never could grant to an uncatholic government a positive power in this religious concern; but that I had no doubt of their yielding to it such kind of negative interference, as would satisfy it with respect to the loyalty of future candidates. I added, however, and repeated with emphasis, that I had *no instructions on the subject, and therefore could give no pledge on the part of my Constituents.*”—This latter clause was so clearly understood, that I was requested to write to the leading Irish Bishops on the subject, without loss of time, as I did by that night’s (Saturday’s) post. In this conversation, which, to the best of my recollection, did not last a quarter of an hour, nothing was said about any prior negociation with the Irish Prelates concerning this matter, nor about any other ground on which I might have formed my opinion, nor about a list of three Candidates being presented at a time; nor did the word *Veto* once occur. I wrote nothing, unless, perhaps, my address; and if, soon after the conversation, I sent a hasty note, of which I took no copy, from my bookseller’s shop to the Gentle-

* The Right Honourable George Ponsonby.

man in question, it was barely by way of informing him of a circumstance which I was afraid I had forgotten ;—not of furnishing a project for him to propose in Parliament or to act upon. Let now any Parliamentary Report of the debate on the Catholic Question, in May, 1808, be looked into, and the language in which the proposal in question was made, as grounded on my supposed authority, be weighed, in order to ascertain which party, Mr. Ponsonby or myself, has a right to complain on the present occasion. It seems, indeed, to be admitted at this day, (contrary to the tenor of those reports) that I did not take upon myself to vouch for the consent of the Irish Bishops. If not, how could I authorize a proposal on their part, and even presume to dictate the terms of it? To argue in this manner, from a loose unpremeditated conversation or a hasty confidential note, when I was not informed of the use that was to be made of either, is unjust, as well as ungenerous. Finally, I never expressed my approbation of the manner in which this proposal was made in the House of Commons, nor was I present when Lord FINGAL is said to have approved of it.

In confirmation of this statement I have to add, that the very morning after the Debate, namely, May 26, I printed a Protest against the use which had been made of my name on the preceding evening, with respect to the proposal

in question, copies of which are still in existence. This was shewn by me a day or two afterwards to our Parliamentary friends, who acknowledged they were not surprised at my alarm, acknowledging that I had not authorized them to advance what they had advanced, and consenting that I should circulate my Protest amongst my Clerical Brethren. A few months after this, when a writer in a Ministerial Paper had accused these Gentlemen of imposing upon Parliament and the Public, in pretending to have held communications with me, which had not taken place, I felt it my duty, in another newspaper, to refute the calumny. I did not, however, acknowledge that I had authorised the proposal, but I stated the particulars mentioned above, and then asserted, that “ *thus far* our advocates were warranted in what they had advanced; which was as much as to say, that communications had taken place between us, and that I had expressed a *persuasion* that the Irish Prelates would consent to a limited negative. The circumstance which misled this Ministerial writer, and has since misled many other persons, in consequence of their not understanding the nature of that limited power, which I represented as likely to be conceded, was the declaration which I have never ceased to make in print, and by word of mouth, since the first mention of this subject; namely, that “ I would

“ rather lose my life than be instrumental in
 “ giving power and influence to an uncatholic
 “ Government over the Catholic Church.” The
 fact is, the project, as I had conceived and explained it, gave no such power or influence; but barely enabled it, through the controuling power of the Catholic Bishops, to prevent the appointment of a disloyal Candidate, in the absurd supposition of such an one being proposed. —In the end I found, that, as the Irish would admit of no *Veto* whatsoever, so our political friends would not agree to those restrictions upon it which I knew to be essentially necessary*.

* It appears, from the Doctor's Pamphlet, that when he advocated the cause of a restricted *Veto*, (thinking that his Constituents, the Irish Catholic Bishops, were friendly to the measure) he strongly maintained the necessity of its exercise being confined to *a very few times*, as otherwise the negative power, or rejecting candidates, would become equivalent to a positive power of appointing them; as also, that it should never be exercised at all except upon the *avowed ground of disloyalty or sedition*, with respect to the excluded party. Now, it is well understood, that in a private conference of the leading Peers in opposition, which took place in their own House, some time in the year 1808, it was unanimously resolved, that the negative power to be *effectual* must be *unrestrained as to the actual exercise* of it, and that the offer of a different kind of *Veto* was a mockery. On the other hand, it appears from the Appendix to Sir John Hippisley's Speech, lately published by himself, p. viii. that neither he nor “*the Noble Lord,*” who has the chief directions of the proposed arrangements, will consent that the Crown shall be required to assign any cause at all for rejecting Catholic Bishops elect.—The reason of this is obvious. The real object of the *Veto* is not to secure the loyalty of the Catholic Pastors, which is acknowledged to be exemplary: but to give “*security and*

Nothing then remained for me, as an honest consistent Catholic, than to adhere to my pledge of suffering every extremity rather than give my consent or countenance to it any longer. One of these friends is reported to have lately said that I have almost done as much mischief as Dr. DUIGENAN. As this Honourable Gentleman maintains my religion to be idolatrous*, no wonder he should consider the undermining of it in a different light from what I do. This event to me, who have sacrificed every worldly consideration to my religion, is the greatest of all mischiefs, which mischief is aggravated in my eyes by its being done under a pretence of serving it.

Instead of occupying their minds with the conduct of a person of so little importance as myself, I wish these great Statesmen would attend to the unanswerable arguments which I have lately addressed to them in my *Elucidation of the Veto*, wherein I have demonstrated that

satisfaction" (as it is now avowed) to the clergy of another communion, to whom, in fact, the real exercise of the Veto would in each instance be transferred.—Hence Dr. Milner's consent two years ago to the Veto being conditional, and his conditions being rejected *in toto*, he was bound as a man of honour and conscience to abandon and even to oppose it.

* By the Act of 30 of Car. II. c. 1. every Member of Parliament, previously to taking his seat, is required to swear that the principal service of Roman Catholics, the Mass, is *idolatrous*.

the present political state of affairs is by no means without example, as they suppose* ; that the Catholics having, by their oaths and in their conduct, devoted their property, their civil rights, their persons, their lives, their writings, their sermons, and their prayers to the service of their King and Country, nothing more in justice or common sense can be required at their hands ; that there is full as much reason for interfering in the religious concerns of all other Dissenters from the established Church and of the Jews as in those of the Catholics ; that the ground on which this is attempted would have excluded the Apostles of JESUS CHRIST from preaching and baptizing in this island ; and, finally, that to pretend to pacify Ireland by altering its ancient faith, which is now of 1400 years standing ; or, what is more irritating, for Noble and Honourable Personages, who swear that this religion is idolatrous, to tell the Irish,

* During the wars which our victorious Edward III. and the Black Prince carried on against the French kings, the successive popes were Frenchmen and resided in France ; yet no bad consequence ensued to our politics or our arms. It is to be observed, that the Catholic Bishops of Ireland have, in a Latin printed Letter, addressed to all the Cardinals, Bishops, &c. throughout the world, declared that they will not take notice of any act of abdication which may issue from the Pope, during his present captivity, on the just presumption, that it has been extorted ; and that, whenever he dies, they will not acknowledge any successor to him, without full proof of his *free*, orderly, and canonical election.

as they do at the present day, "we know your religion better than you know it yourselves," is more absurd, and likely to be more fatal, than clipping the whiskers and flattening the turbans of our Mahomedan soldiers in India, which attempt, the other day, deluged our fortresses there with a torrent of British blood, and shook our Empire to its very centre.

I am, &c.

Wolverhampton, May 29, 1810.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER II.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE STATESMAN.

SIR,

Since I wrote to you yesterday, I find that the bolt with which I have been long threatened has been shot. The Right Honourable Mr. PONS-
SONBY has published the Note which I sent to him, after the conversation he honoured me with on Saturday, May 21, 1808. I presume it is accurate, because I was so far from considering it in the light in which he is pleased to represent it, that I did not so much as take a copy of it. Whatever I may think of the publication itself of a private confidential note, I am not, upon the whole, sorry that it has taken place, because now that I see the note, I am satisfied it will justify me in the minds of liberal and sensible

men from the obloquy which, during so long a time, has been heaped upon me.

First, then, I appeal to men of sense whether this note appears, upon the face of it, to be a deliberate, digested project for a new arrangement of ecclesiastical discipline, such as a person even of my mean abilities was likely to have drawn up, had he entertained a suspicion that it was to be made the ground-work of a solemn proposal in the Senate of the Nation? Does it not rather appear, from the nature of its contents, to be a loose confidential memorandum, calculated only to meet the eye of a friend, and to be understood in conjunction with the conversation which preceded it? Secondly, does it appear, from this note, that the writer of it was sensible that the opinion which he expressed with relation to the Catholic Bishops of Ireland was to be made the basis of a legislative arrangement? Does the writer pledge himself for their consent? Does he intimate that he commissioned any person to use such language as this: "The Catholics have determined to make their superior Clergy subject to the Crown."—"The Bishops have agreed," &c.?^{*} So far from

* The writer quotes from Faulder's Report of the Debates, on Wednesday, May 25, 1808, published last year. He is sensible that this Report has been retouched and softened, particularly in what regards the matter at issue; and he can certify, from the testimony of his own ears, that the former Reports came much nearer the truth; but he has not any of these at hand.

this, it appears, from the concluding lines of this very note, that both the writer and his correspondent were in anxious expectation of an answer to the "consultation (which he was to have) with those Bishops on the important subject of Catholic presentations." Thirdly, does it appear from the note, that the writer had authorized the following statement: "When a Catholic Bishop dies, the other Bishops fix upon three persons whom they think the most fit to succeed him. They send those names to the Pope, &c. Now they have agreed, when the names are returned, to send them to the Lord Lieutenant, and if he should object to all three, they strike them out, and send other three," &c.? On the contrary, does it not appear, on the face of the note, that only *one* name was to be transmitted at a time? This is a most important difference, according to the Catholic code of discipline.

True it is, there is not any limitation, as to the number of single names which might be negatived, *expressed in this hasty note*; but *it was understood between the parties* that the negative was to be confined to "a reasonable number of times," as is expressly stated in that printed Protest which I presented to Mr. PONSONBY on the 27th of May, and which he permitted me to circulate in Ireland, as is well known to Lord Fingal, Mr. Grattan, the Honourable Robert

Clifford, and other respectable personages, who urged the writer to suppress it.

There is another highly respectable Gentleman, who has performed a principal part in the debate now going on*, well acquainted with the circumstance in question, and who has often testified, and I am sure is ready to testify again, that, first and last, I declared against an unlimited negative in point of number, because this would be equivalent to a positive nomination. I grant, the words "direct negative," contained in the note, are liable to be misunderstood by an ordinary reader; but I contend they were not misunderstood between the writer and the Honourable Gentleman. The whole question then was about the loyalty of the candidate; hence it was understood that the Crown was not to object upon any ground but ascertained disloyalty; and though the Crown would, of course, ultimately decide upon this matter, yet the party accused was to have a right of vindicating himself from malicious whispers and calumnies. This also is sufficiently explained in the printed Protest, one copy of which the Right Honourable Gentleman received from me on the said 27th of May, and another in the course of our correspondence in the October of the same year, 1808. It may be added, that upon pre-

senting the Protest to the Noble Lord, who so eminently displayed his eloquence, wisdom, and liberality in Parliament on that same day, May 27*, he objected, as he had done ever since, to Ministers being obliged to assign the motive of their rejecting a candidate for Catholic episcopacy. The writer, however, has ever remained convinced of the indispensable necessity of the two checks, or safeguards above mentioned; namely, a limitation of the negative as to number, and as to the ground of its exercise. Hence, when he found that neither of these checks would be received by his political friends, he felt it his duty to break off all further negotiations with them on the subject.

But, to come to the main point at issue: does the note convey any such idea as is contained in the following passage: “ Dr. MILNER has informed me that such is their (the Irish Bishops) determination; he believes that if the prayer of their petition be granted, they will not have any objection to make the King *virtually the head of their church?*” Does any person, who knows the least of me or of my writings, believe that I was capable of holding out such an idea? If he does not believe this, but barely supposes that I knew so little of the matter I was treating of as to have made a conces-

* Lord Grenville.

sion which went this length, without being conscious of it, I ask him was it fair, was it just to take this advantage of my simplicity? Such, however, was the plea of the Right Honourable Gentleman, when I waited upon him to expostulate on the alarming proposition which he had made in my name, carrying, at the same time, the printed protest in my hand. What he said was to this effect, and I believe in these very words :
 “ I am not surprised at the alarm you have
 “ taken. I do not pretend that you authorized
 “ me to say what I did say ; but I was at liberty
 “ to argue from the premises as I thought proper. With respect to this paper (the Protest)
 “ it is very fair, and I have no objection to your
 “ circulating it.” In fact, it was this proposition of the Gentleman (which he was earnestly requested by his Parliamentary Friend, alluded to above, to explain away) which naturally produced so great a combustion in Ireland, and ended in burning the writer in effigy. All this he might have escaped, and have retained the favour he there enjoyed, had he then told the Irish what he is constrained to tell the English now. The only motive which prevented his doing this was a respect for his friends, and chiefly for the Right Honourable Gentleman. This brilliant orator may be cheered both by his political friends and his enemies : it is easily conceived that my refusal to become again a party

to their proposed arrangements, which I know to be fatal to my religion, should, at present, make both parties willing to sacrifice so insignificant a being as myself; still I look up with confidence to the deliberate judgment and candour of my fellow-subjects at large in both our islands. This Gentleman is reported to make a merit of not publishing my private letters, written at my leisure, after having published my hasty private note. If there is any thing in them that makes for his purpose, he has my full consent to their production: in the mean time I shall not, without a similar license from him, produce the letters with which he has honoured me.

I am, &c.

Wolverhampton, May 30, 1810. JOHN MILNER.

LETTER III.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE STATESMAN.

SIR,

You are very good not to give me up, nor to be ashamed of my correspondence, as you signify you are not, in your paper of the 1st instant, notwithstanding a vote of censure on my "opinions, conduct, and writings," which you suppose was passed upon me by "the Catholic

"Nobility and Gentry of England, in Stanhope-street," on the 29th ult. I trust, Sir, that you will have still less cause to be ashamed of me after having perused the present letter.

Be assured then, Sir, that no meeting, which in fact was, or which professed to be "the Catholic Nobility and Gentry of England," or the representatives of that body, took place at the above-mentioned time and place, and that the lawyer or lawyers who collected 32 individuals for the purpose which will be seen below, and who, without any instructions from those individuals, or from the major part of them (indeed 12 of the number were averse from the measure *in toto*), are not themselves Deputies, or Secretaries, or agents of any accredited body amongst the English Catholics whatever. On the other hand, you will readily conceive, that the man must be a very insignificant being against whom his baffled and indignant enemies could not collect 20 or 30 signatures.

The pretence which was made use of to alarm these individuals, was Mr. PONSONBY's speech against the writer in the course of the late debate in the House of Commons. Now it is to be observed, that neither Mr. PONSONBY nor any one else ever pretended that I took upon myself to answer for the company in Stanhope-street, nor for the English Catholics in general, as these lawyers are in the habit of doing; nor did I take

upon myself to treat of any matter relating to them. The whole question two years ago was, as it is still, strictly an Irish question. The communication between me and the above-named Gentleman purely regarded my constituents, the Catholic Bishops of Ireland; these venerable personages, being assembled in Synod at Dublin, within four months after the transaction, namely, on the 14th of September, 1808, I myself being on the spot, made due inquiries into it, when they unanimously voted that “ Dr. MILNER “ had given a satisfactory explanation of his “ conduct in quality of their Agent, and that he “ be requested to continue to act in that capacity.”

In the name, then, of common sense and common decorum, what occasion was there for this Junta of Lay Englishmen to vote that they were not implicated in, nor responsible for, my opinions, conduct, or writings. As to the speech of Mr. PONSONBY, which was made use of as a bugbear to alarm this Junta (after having raised much such a hubbub in the House of Commons as Dr. DUIGENAN’s shameful falsehood did in the same place heretofore, on the supposition that I had maintained it to be matter of convenience whether oaths ought to be kept or not), perhaps these persons may form a different notion of the matter, and wish they had not been so precipitate in passing a vote of censure on me,

one of their Bishops, *unheard, unrepresented*, had they seen my letters of the 29th and 30th ult. which have appeared in your paper. At any rate I hereby defy them, and the Right Honourable Gentleman himself, to meet me, (under their respective names) on either of the two following points;—1st, Did I authorize Mr. PONSONBY to make any proposal at all to the House of Commons on the part of the Catholic Bishops—or was I even informed that he had an intention of making any proposal? But this ground, on which the Right Honourable Gentleman has hitherto stood, is now abandoned by him and his friends; with what justice, then, either to the writer or to Parliament, could he signify that I had so authorized him?—2d, Whatever words I made use of, was I traitor enough to my religion to lead him to expect that “the Catholic Bishops, in the event of the “Petition being granted, would have no objection to make the KING virtually the head of “their Church?”* Why, Sir, not even this is “pretended: what Mr. PONSONBY says in his revised speech, concerning the KING’s becoming virtually the Head of the Catholic Church, is—“so *I think* he must become.”† This is to say, Mr. PONSONBY draws a conclusion from my supposed premises, and then asserts that I have

* Faulder’s Reports, p. 134.

† Ibid.

assented to his conclusion!!! Many persons will apply harsher terms to this conduct; it is sufficient for me to say, that it is directly contrary to all the established rules of argumentation.

In giving a brief history of the rise of this censure of the company at Stanhope-street, I shall be under the necessity of pointing out several particulars which they, as English Catholics, had real occasion, both in justice and in common policy, to disavow, though they had nothing to do with my agency for my brethren in Ireland. The Catholics of that island having very justly conceived a suspicion that something was in agitation, on this side of the water, by way of reviving the *Veto*, which they universally so much execrated, and that those English Catholics who were convened to hold a meeting at the St. Alban's Tavern, on the 1st of February last, were to be made tools of for this purpose, resolved to take measures for warding off the dreaded blow. The Bishops agreed to meet in Synod on the 7th of that month, and the Laity to hold a General Assembly much about the same time; when the lawyer or lawyers above alluded to, professing to write in the name of "the Catholics of Great Britain," gave both these bodies separately such positive, strong, and repeated assurances that nothing of the sort was in contemplation, and that the English Catholics,

in particular, “ would adopt no measures, but
 “ such as might be considered as auxiliary to the
 “ more powerful exertions of the Irish Catho-
 “ lics, and that they would regulate their con-
 “ duct by that of their Irish brethren,” that
 the Synod and General Assembly were both
 countermanded. The letter from which I quote
 was dated January 26, at which time the writers
 of them had in their possession a Resolution
 which had been dictated for the English meet-
 ing of February 1st, to sign, and which in fact,
 after a slight change had been made in it, to dis-
 guise its most offensive part, they did then sign.
 On this occasion the present writer having, both
 in quality of Representative of the Irish Catho-
 lic Prelates, and as a Bishop of the Catholic
 Church, requested that he and his English bre-
 thren might be allowed to consult with their
 brethren across St. George’s Channel, and wait
 the issue of the Synod, which he expected to take
 place on the 7th of the month, the Chairman
 proclaimed, with the entire approbation, as it
 appeared, of the writers of the above-mentioned
 letters, “ That they, the English, had nothing
 “ to do with the Irish, except to pray for them.”
 Now, Sir, here was a something of the utmost
 importance for the company at Stanhope-street
 to disavow ; and I understand that one person
 did move something to this effect, namely, they
 ought to have disavowed either the letter of the

persons who professed to act as Secretaries to the English Catholics, or the declaration of the Chairman. In fact, both the one and the other has caused the greatest discontent and murmurs amongst the Irish, upon whose consequence and determinations all our hopes evidently rest. They published every where that they were betrayed, and that the English Catholics had broken faith with them. The General Assembly and the Synod were both resumed. In the former it was resolved to instruct their Secceetary, Mr. HAY, then in London, not to make common cause, nor to hold any communication with the English Catholics. In the Synod the Resolution of the English Catholics, which forms the substance of the second English Petition to Parliament, was rejected, inasmuch as the Prelates clearly saw that it was a cover for the *Veto*, and the writer of this was honoured with the Vote of Thanks inserted below*, which he conceives to be of more weight in his favour, upon an avowed theological question, than the censure

* At a Meeting of the Catholic Prelates, in Synod assembled, at Dublin, February 26, 1810,—“ Resolved unanimously, That the Thanks of this Meeting be and are hereby given to the Right Rev. Dr. Milner, &c. for the faithful discharge of his duty, as Agent to the Roman Catholic Bishops of this part of the United Kingdom; and more particularly for his apostolical firmness in dissenting from and opposing a vague and indefinite Declaration, or Resolution, pledging Catholics to an eventual acquiescence in engagements possibly prejudicial to the integrity and safety of our church discipline.”

of a hundred times more numerous assembly of laymen than that which met at Stanhope-street, and which met in a *private parlour*, for the *express purpose of excluding other Catholics, who were not invited into it.* It is plain the principal lawyer in question was of some such opinion, for he exerted the utmost extent of his invective and characteristical sneers in order to oblige the Catholic Bishops to disavow their synodical act in favour of the writer, and even his commission of being their agent. This man, still professing himself a Catholic, told a Synod of 25 Bishops, speaking in the name of CHRIST, that their solemn act was “an aukward attempt of malice, “a libel, and a scandal.” I need not inform you that these good men were not to be bullied into an immoral act by such measures as these, though attempted in the name “of the Catholic lies of England.”—Here, Sir, in my opinion, was a something for the company in Stanhope-street, as Gentlemen and as Catholics, to have disavowed, had not their wits been quite scared by the thunder of Mr. PONSONBY’S eloquence. Having failed in this attempt, and understanding that I was in possession of copies of their letters to the Catholic Bishops, and of the latter to them, they next assailed me to induce me not to publish them. (Why afraid to see their own official letters, or that the Catholics, in whose name they were written, should see them?) They

fawned upon me ; they indirectly threatened me with the law, with shutting their doors upon me ; and finally with what, to a fighting-man, would have been a challenge to a duel. It is true I have not yet made use of my right in this particular, out of mercy to them and some respectable friends of theirs ; but I have refused to give them that assurance which they demand, namely, that I will not print the correspondence. Nothing now remained for these disappointed men, except to labour in their peculiar province, that of bullying and bribing printers and publishers to prevent their serving me, particularly in publishing the Vote of Thanks, which clearly belies those glosses and parallels they have published in several newspapers to induce a belief that the Irish Catholic Bishops have sanctioned the English Resolution of February 1, instead of rejecting it as they have done. But this measure having likewise failed, by the publication of my *Elucidation of the Veto*, they have derived some consolation from Mr. PONSONBY'S speech, a spurious copy of which they have taken care to circulate all over the kingdom, and they have taken advantage of the momentary illusion it has occasioned to get the company whom they contrived to assemble at Stanhope-street, to vote as they had done.

This vote, Sir, professes to censure my *political opinions and writings*, but is, in fact, a cen-

sure upon my theological opinions and writings. It is well known, that I have ever professed to leave the direction of our political matters to our laity, in as positive a manner as I have claimed the direction and management of matters appertaining to the faith and discipline of the Catholic Church to its Bishops and Clergy. It is equally well known, that the cause of offence which I and the Irish bishops have given to some of our laymen, as well as to our political friends, and which caused the latter to apply to the laity, instead of the clergy, for effecting their intended alteration of our ecclesiastical discipline, is my public refusal, in my own name, and in that of the Hierarchy of Ireland, to pledge myself to this measure. Now, Sir, this matter, upon Catholic principles, belongs exclusively to the Hierarchy, in which I am known to hold, however unworthily, an important situation. I will say no more, than that the vote of the Stanhope-street laymen, which was virtually a censure upon me and upon the whole Irish Hierarchy, for acting in our own province, and our own concerns, is, upon Catholic principles, highly blameable.

Wolverhampton, June 4.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER IV.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE STATESMAN.

SIR,

I have been waiting near a fortnight for an answer to my last letter, inserted in your Paper of the 6th instant, concerning the disclaimer of my political conduct and writings on the part of certain persons who met in Stanhope-street on the 29th of last May; but nothing of this sort have I seen, except a private apology from some individuals who formed part of that company. It is, then, admitted, that the persons in question had just as much right to interfere with my agency on the part of my brethren, the Catholic Bishops of Ireland, as I have to interfere with the politics of China; and it is demonstrated that Mr. PONSEBY had no authority from me to make any proposal whatsoever to Parliament; and that, in saying what he did think proper to say to it, he stated his own conclusions instead of my opinions. This being avowedly the case, I think it unnecessary to fill the columns of your useful Paper with a refutation of at least a dozen downright falsehoods, and of double that number of gross misrepresentations, contained in the report of that Gentleman's speech, which my adversaries have inserted in their hired newspa-

pers of the 28th ult. and circulated throughout the Empire. Still, as it is a fact that some persons of my communion, however imposed upon by falsehoods, and circumvented by the artifices of my declared enemies, did, on the day following the one last mentioned, disclaim my writings and conduct; and as the printing of this in the newspapers is calculated to impress the public with an idea that I have been a very *treacherous advocate of their cause*, and that I have been *concerned in some foul political intrigues*, I feel it a duty owing to my situation to give some account to the Public of my writings and conduct, as contrasted with those of my capital adversary, by whom the Resolutionists have been guided.

I must begin with observing, that it is neither a new nor a very humiliating circumstance for me to be calumniated and decried in the Senate of the Nation, and even in my own little body. Two years ago I stood at the bar of the House of Peers, whilst one of the Ministry accused me of having in print “ called the KING an Orange-man, and the Sovereign of a very small part of “ his Irish subjects.”* So the matter appeared, till the Nobleman who is nearest allied to the great Fox, in genius as well as in blood, convinced this Minister that he did not understand

* Letters from Ireland, third Edition, p. 249.

the English language. Three years before that period I sat in the gallery of the House of Commons, whilst a Member, who is *Learned*, because he is a lawyer, and *Right Honourable*, because his Majesty has made him so, maintained that I had taught it to be “a mere matter of “conveniency whether oaths are to be observed “or not.”* Mr. PITT was astonished, Mr. PERCEVAL was scandalized, and the whole House, during twenty-four hours, thought me a very wicked casuist, till my friend Dr. LAWRENCE produced the book, from which the Irish Doctor had garbled half a sentence, when the tables were completely turned upon him, and I experienced the prediction of the Poet—

Solventur risu tabulæ : tu missus abibis.

Some twenty years ago I was in so much disgrace with a great part of those of my communion in London, that they nick-named me Lord George Gordon, and would not speak to me in the streets for that very conduct for which they are now obliged to me, namely, for being instrumental in preserving for them their family name, and their unchangeable creed. In a word, Sir, I have not the smallest doubt that the very individuals who have lately disavowed my writings and conduct not only will hereafter, but that they

* Case of Conscience solved.

actually do now, in their hearts, approve of them. In fact, some of those who have been the most active in censuring me, have already confessed this to me.

It does not appear that the company in Stanhope-street thought proper to censure my writings on History, Antiquities, or Theology, but only my political writings. Now the only works of mine which can any way fall under this denomination are the following: 1st, *Letters to a Prebendary*, which have undergone two editions in England, two in Ireland, and one at New York, in America. The object of these Letters is to vindicate the English Catholics from those foul aspersions, and particularly those of plots and disloyalty, which have been the chief source of the prejudices of their fellow-subjects against them; and it has been generally admitted, that the Letters have answered their intended purpose. True it is, my domestic adversary, upon their appearance, entered into an intrigue with my more honourable public enemy, and encouraged him in various ways to enter the lists again with me: still I fancy he would not dare to tell the Catholics openly that I had injured their cause by the work in question.—Another work of the same description is my *Letters from Ireland*. This was intended to render, as far as was in my power, the same service to Irish, as

the former is supposed to have rendered to English Catholics. It has gone through three editions at home, and one in America.—A third political work of mine, which has been twice edited, is *The Case of Conscience solved*. This has been repeatedly panegyricized in Parliament, and even in the last debate*, as an *unanswerable refutation* of the alleged scruple concerning the Coronation Oath, and is said to have produced a considerable effect in the quarter where it is most wanted.—A fourth work of the same political nature is my *Letter to a Member of Parliament, in Answer to the several Objections against the Emancipation*. This was quoted by Mr. Fox, in his speech on the latter subject in 1805, and, what was almost an equal honour to it, was flouted by Dr. DUIGENAN. Finally, I wrote part of the *Appendix*, as appears by my name, to Sir JOHN HIPPISELY's celebrated *Substance of a Speech, &c.* and when this was attacked by Dr. DUIGENAN in the NO-POPERY—I mean the ANTI-JACOBIN REVIEW, with a whole volley of Canon Law, I shielded the work, and retorted the weapons on the assailant in *A Second Appendix to Substance, &c.* Now, Sir, I ask the individuals of the Stanhope-street company, for which of these political works, or for which single passage in any one of them, I deserve to be disavowed by them, and *my*

* See Sir John Hippisley's Speech, p. 53.

*writings condemned in the gross?** The works were written for their service—not my own; for I was well aware that, let the Emancipation come when it may, it will be no boon to Catholic Churchmen. They were written without the most distant prospect of gain; for, though some persons must have got money by them, as appears by the sale of them, and their going through different editions, I myself am hundreds of pounds out of pocket by them. Finally, they have produced an important effect, as is plain from the constant and violent attacks made upon me, in consequence of them, by the DUIGENANS, the MUSGRAVES, the LEDWICHES, the RYANS, the CHURTONS, the LE MESSURIERES, and, in short, by every individual writer and declaimer against the Emancipation.

Well, Sir, I forgive my deluded brethren of Stanhope-street: they were artfully inveigled to the meeting, without knowing why or wherefore they were called together (as some of them have owned to me) by my baffled, indignant foe; and they were scared out of their wits, as I observed

* It is difficult to form an idea of more dishonourable conduct than that of Dr. Milner's adversaries in his regard. They judge and condemn him in a private picked company, and in his absence; they then publish their sentence in the Newspapers, without mentioning his accusers, his judges, or the specific charges against him; nor can any challenges, on his part, induce the authors or partakers in this public defamation, to meet him in the face of the public. In the mean time, it appears that they are indebted to his moderation for not publishing their papers or even their names.

before, by the echo of the *Brutum fulmen* of Mr. PONSONBY's eloquence. In the spirit of forgiveness, I abstain from calling upon them to publish their names; but I am sure the Public will not think I ask for too much when *I call upon the Resolutionists, as Gentlemen and as men, to insist upon my capital enemy's quitting his lurking incognito, and attempting, in the face of day, to justify the hasty vote into which, by himself and his agents, he has betrayed them. He is a writer by profession, and a lawyer, and he has heretofore received a large sum of money from them and the other Catholics in quality of their Agent: let them then require of him in a publication, under his own name, to prove that my political writings deserve to be censured, and his to be paid for.*

I shall here just mention a few of this writer's political writings, by way of contrasting them with my own, leaving for a future Letter the vindication of my political conduct. These are the *Draft of a crippled Bill for the Relief of English Catholics*, including an insidious *heterodox Oath*, and *schismatical Appellation*, both of which, upon a full investigation of his arguments and mine, were rejected by Parliament. This was drawn up in concert with a legal member, who, when he rose to the highest station of his profession in Ireland, proved himself to be, what I always declared him to be, one of the

bitterest enemies whom the Catholics ever had. Notwithstanding this manifestation, the Catholic Agent continued to keep up the closest political connexion, and is supposed to keep up the same to the present day, with this personage.—In the next place, my adversary wrote one folio **RED Book**, and the greater part of three large quarto *Blue Books*, so called, of which I will say no more, out of regard to respectable persons whose names he got affixed to them in much the same manner as he has procured the Stanhope-street Resolution, than that these works have, by the confession of every individual of the Catholic body, caused more dissension, vexation, and real misery throughout it, than all the books of controversy and invective which have been written against it from Fox's Book of Martyrs down to LE MESSURIER's present Address in answer to my Discourse. I forget the title of another work of this Writer, addressed to the Irish Catholics, but it is known by the name of the *Great Now*. This was corrected in the hand-writing of the then No-Popery Minister, Mr. ADDINGTON, at the same time that the author was paying his court to the Ex-ministers who had just resigned their places from an attachment to the Catholic cause. He has published another letter to the Irish, the title of which I equally forget, in which this man, the most dangerous enemy of the Hierarchy of his Church in modern times

—indeed, much more so than his friend Lord R—— himself, the man who is and has been long labouring to extort any kind of *Veto* that can be obtained, affects to be greatly alarmed at that strictly limited, that iron-bound *Veto*, which I, for a time, advocated, till I found that the Irish would have no *Veto* at all, and that nothing short of an absolute subjection and prostration of our Church would satisfy the religious jealousy of our political friends.

I have professed to speak only of the political writings of my opponent ; for you are to know, Sir, that his favourite study is Theology, though this he declares he writes upon, only by way of *relaxation from his graver studies of the Law*. I shall, therefore, say no more of him on this head, than that all real Catholics, who witness the latitudinarianism which he is constantly labouring to introduce amongst them, bitterly lament that he has not stuck to the following engagement of his, contained in a letter written several years ago, and now in print:—" My
 " theological career is finished: henceforward
 " I shall retire to say the Church Office, and
 " read books of devotion for the remainder of
 " my life."—I am, &c.

Wolverhampton, June 16.

J. MILNER.

LETTER V.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE STATESMAN.

SIR,

I cannot disguise the satisfaction I derive from the proofs under my eyes that my three first Letters to you have already been reprinted in all the principal newspapers of Ireland. This circumstance is a pledge to me that my Irish brethren now thoroughly understand the history of that *Veto* which has been deservedly the object of so much jealousy to them ; and I am confident that when this and my last letter shall, by the same means, have reached them, they will equally well understand the origin and policy of that vote of censure which, by this time, they have learnt was passed upon me by certain individuals who, without knowing why or wherefore, were collected for the purpose in Stanhope-street. In short, Sir, I am perfectly satisfied with the result of the business ; but I greatly doubt whether my enemies, in and out of Parliament, are so ; and I strongly suspect that they heartily wish they had not called upon me, in the newspapers, to disclose the above-mentioned history, and to contrast my political writings and conduct with theirs in the face of the Public of both islands.

In my last letter of the 15th instant, I vindicated my *political writings*, and I appealed to public opinion whether these or the writings of my avowed adversary were respectively deserving of praise or of censure from a company of Catholics. I now proceed to give an account of what this adversary would call my *political conduct*, in doing which I shall be under the necessity of entering into a more particular comparison of my behaviour with his; because, in fact, my political conduct has chiefly consisted in refusing to participate in his political conduct: in other words, my policy has been, in all matters relating to religion, to have *no policy at all*, or, to adopt an old and excellent English proverb, I have ever been convinced that **HONESTY IS THE BEST POLICY**. I shall confine the comparison to the two most important occasions when there has been a collision of conduct between us; namely, when the Bill for the Relief of English Catholics was in agitation, twenty years ago, and to the late occurrences relative to the Petition for the Emancipation of Irish Catholics.

On the former occasion, this leader of Catholic politics insisted on the necessity of our fighting under false colours, by exchanging the name of **CATHOLICS**, or **ROMAN CATHOLICS**, for that of **PROTESTING CATHOLIC DISSENTERS**. The necessity and pro-

priety of this piece of policy he defends, at great length, in the first of those *Blue Books* which I mentioned in my last letter. Accordingly he drew up his Bill, and got it presented to Parliament with a clause in it which required, that every person desirous of obtaining the proffered relief, should go into some of his Majesty's Courts of Record, and should there subscribe as follows: *I A. B. do hereby declare myself to be a Protesting Catholic Dissenter.* Those Catholics whose consciences would not permit them to do this, were to be considered as **PAPISTS**, who maintained all the detestable doctrines ever imputed to such persons; and it was understood that a separate Act of penalties and pains (short, however, of hanging, drawing, and quartering) was to be passed and enforced against them. Accordingly Mr. Mitford, the Member who was chosen to introduce the above-mentioned Bill, was instructed to represent the *Protesting Catholic Dissenters* as models of loyalty and all other virtues, and the *Catholic Papists* as disloyal and immoral wretches who, in some instances, "had starved the former to death." On the other hand I, whose duty it was to oppose this crooked and irreligious policy, in quality of Agent to the then Catholic Bishops, declared strongly against it; and I demonstrated in a hand-bill, called "*A State of Facts,*" which I got distributed amongst the Members as they

entered into the House of Commons, to debate the matter, that the manœuvre in question was not only schismatical, according to our creed, but that it was also impolitic with respect to the final success of the Bill. It appeared that the Lord Chief Baron, then Attorney-General, and Mr. PITT, amongst other Members, were of this opinion; accordingly, this trifarious chimera—this incongruous assemblage of PETER, JACK, and MARTIN was at once kicked out of the House, and the wall of separation between Catholic and Catholic was, in a moment, levelled with the ground. But, besides the imposition of a misnomer, this *Ministre de Culte*, this “Lay Vicar-General in Spirituals,” as he was termed in print by the late Right Rev. Dr. MATHEW GIBSON, this orthodox Catholic, who professes to have received “new floods of light through cracks and flaws,” had prepared for us a new creed, which was purposely made ambiguous, to bear one sense in the meaning of Catholics, and another in that of Protestants. This he inserted in the oath of allegiance, contained in the Bill, and he falsely maintained, in the above-mentioned Blue Books, that Ministry insisted upon our adopting it, even to its minutest terms. Instead of consulting the Catholic Prelates concerning it, who, in fact, twice over condemned it, as unlawful to be taken, he assembled certain private Divines at a tavern, and

there, after dinner, proposed it to be sanctioned with their several signatures. Here again it became my duty, on the part of the Bishops, and of the body at large, who looked up to their decision in a matter of this nature, to withstand this crooked and dangerous policy. In a word, I demonstrated to Parliament, in the above-mentioned paper and in other publications, that we could pledge our loyalty and moral principles as explicitly, in clear and unambiguous terms, as we could in the double-faced symbol with which our agent endeavoured to choak us. This plain dealing gained us friends in Parliament, who are still alive to attest the fact, and it was finally concluded that the Episcopal party should have the oath which they then offered, or that the Bill should not pass at all. It is a duty to me here to mention that Lord GRENVILLE, Lord MOIRA, and Bishop HORSELEY were our best and most useful friends on this occasion.

Now, Sir, if these facts cannot be denied by my Catholic brethren who assembled in Stanhope-street, as you may be assured they will not publicly deny them, the world will judge whether my plain and honest policy, which was the instrument in preserving to them their family name and genuine creed, or my adversary's crooked and dark policy, which aimed at the

destruction of them both, was deserving of their public censure.

It may well be supposed that, after these signal defeats, our politician would not be very ambitious to stand forward, under his own name, in the transaction of our business; still he contrives, by his agents and other indirect means, to direct or influence almost every thing that takes place amongst us. He drew up the last Petition of the English Catholics, in which the tortuosity of his politics led him to affront our Irish brethren, and to affirm downright falsehoods; for he confines, with the most studied caution, the religious grievances, therein complained of, to the English Catholics, and then proceeds to claim the merit of the military services performed by the Irish Catholics, and the consequence arising from their number. It is well known that I had a formal remonstrance on this and the other errors of the Petition in my pocket when a meeting was held for the purpose of getting it presented to Parliament: reflecting, however, that this was a mere matter of politics, in which religion was not concerned, I came to a resolution of suppressing it.—I now proceed to matter of a mixed nature, and of greater importance, as being connected with the *Veto*.

The Irish Catholics having, in the month of January last, shewn a spirit that was little expected by most others, though foretold by

me*, in rejecting the patronage of their great and powerful advocate, Lord GRENVILLE, in consequence of his requiring the concession of this *Veto*, and of other undefined ecclesiastical arrangements, as the indispensable condition of his services to them, it was thought good policy that the English Catholics should make an offer of yielding it, but in an ambiguous form of words, which should not directly express it, in the expectation that their Irish brethren would follow the example. Accordingly a Resolution which Lord GREY, in presenting it to the House of Peers, plainly declared to be a pledge for all that Lord GRENVILLE had insisted upon in his Letter to Earl FINGAL, was delivered to our politician's Secretary, for the purpose of being signed by those English Catholics who were to meet on the first of February. At this very time, as I have before stated, he was writing letters, in the name of the English Catholics, to assure both the Laity and the Bishops of Ireland, that no measures would be adopted by the former, but in *concurrence with, and in subordination to*, such as might be adopted by the lat-

* Dr. Milner admonished Lord Grenville's friends, in the Political Register of January 13, that if they persisted in urging the *Veto*, the Catholics of Ireland would consider it as a choice of evils between them and the No-Popery faction. Within a week after this, Lord Grenville published his Letter to Lord Fingal, and in the course of another week, the General Committee of Dublin ordered their Petition to be presented, but not through Lord Grenville.

ter. Yet, this notwithstanding, the Resolution was voted and signed by almost all the persons who were present at the Meeting, few of whom, however, knew of the promises to the contrary which had been so explicitly made in their name. On this, and on other accounts, I shall abstain from those censures which the Irish have passed upon this political conduct, and shall satisfy myself with defending my own, which again consisted in nothing more than in the positive refusal I gave, both at a grand political dinner, on the last day of January, and at the meeting itself, on the first of February, to be a party to it. In addition to my feelings of duty and religion, I saw and urged the impolicy of the measure. I maintained that it was for the advantage of the English Catholics to act in unison with their Irish brethren, as upon their national consequence all our hopes rested, and I positively refused to renounce that honourable commission which my brethren, on the other side of the water, had conferred upon me; ridiculing, at the same time, the idea of our gulling the Irish into an opinion that the *Veto* was not contained in the proposed Resolution, and of our acting the part of a few tame decoy ducks, in order to lead an immense flock of wild Irish ducks into a snare prepared for both parties. Well, Sir, the Resolution passed, and an account of the whole proceedings was, the same day, transmitted to

Ireland, not by me, but by deputies from that country, who had been present at the Meeting, when, upon the return of the post, in the course of eight days, it was ascertained that the political manœuvre had completely failed, and nothing but complaints and execrations against the English Catholics were heard throughout that island. It is not, Sir, by way of shewing that I formed a better judgment of the matter than my opponents, that I detail this transaction, but by way of vindicating myself from the imputation of dark and crooked policy, and of shewing that, on this occasion also, the sum total of my political conduct consisted in refusing to become a party to a political scheme which I disapproved of.

I have before informed you, Sir, of the assemblies which were held both by the Laity and the Bishops of Ireland, in consequence of this measure, and of the Vote of Thanks which the latter passed in my favour, and of the disrespectful and irreligious letters which our arch politician dictated, *in the name of the English Catholics*, by way of bullying the Prelates into a dishonourable and immoral act, that of *denying they had ever thanked me, or had commissioned me to act in their name.* I have also given you to understand, that copies of these shameful letters and extracts from other letters were transmitted to me from Ireland, as well as of the dig-

nified answers which were returned to them, and that, in consequence of this, my adversary was reduced to employ all his engines to hinder me from publishing these *official*, but *unauthorized* letters, and to hinder different presses from printing the articles which I might send them, and especially the Vote of Thanks. Such, then, was the result of my chief adversary's crooked policy ! I had but to send his own letters to an independent press, when I could find one, to bring him into utter disgrace with the Catholic Body, and also with our political friends ! What now was my political conduct ? I did not wish to hurt his feelings, and still less those of our common friends, further than was absolutely necessary in the discharge of my duty. The correspondence, therefore, has hitherto remained suppressed.

The debates on the Irish Petition were now at hand ; when understanding that my opponents, with other lay English Catholics, were making arrangements, in concert with Protestant Statesmen, relating to the discipline of the Catholic Church of Ireland, (a subject which neither party was qualified, by due knowledge, to discuss, or by due authority to decide upon,) I thought it my duty to make more publicly known the doctrine and late determinations of the Irish Catholic Prelacy on this matter, adding such further information concerning it, as, from my

studies and my situation, I was enabled to give: This I performed in a threefold Address to the Public, the Catholics, and the political friends of Catholics, called *An Elucidation of the Veto*. Whatever else my adversaries may say of this work, they will not deny that it is *a fair, open, candid exposition* of the subject it treats of, and very remote from that character of dishonest policy which they have endeavoured to affix to my conduct: in fact, it has been repeatedly commended in Parliament for possessing the above-mentioned qualities. It proves, amongst other things, against Lord GRENVILLE, that, as the State does not acknowledge the existence of Catholic Bishops, nor the validity of any one act of their jurisdiction, it cannot, in justice, or common sense, have any thing more to say about the appointment of such persons, than about the election of MAB, Queen of the Fairies; that the pretence concerning the *possibility* of our Bishops becoming disloyal, while it is acknowledged that they are *de facto* loyal, would justify the imprisonment of every subject in the realm; that the King does at present possess an efficient Veto, and the only Veto which he can or ought to possess in this spiritual matter, inasmuch as the new Bishops are always chosen by his sworn and faithful subjects, the actual officiating Bishops, who are pledged to choose none but men of approved loyalty and peaceable conduct, and

who must be the best judges of the conduct and dispositions of their clergy ; finally, that these Bishops and the other conscientious Catholics are determined to yield their lives rather than bend their necks to the yoke which is prepared for them.* On the other hand, the *Elucidation* demonstrates, against Mr. GRATTAN, that the Catholics in general, including their Bishops, having, by their oaths and their general conduct, devoted their property, their persons, their swords, their pens, and their prayers, to the cause of their country, it is no concern of the latter if they were actually to realize his supposition by devoting their souls to LUCIFER himself. The book proves that the ground which he (Mr. GRATTAN) has taken, would have excluded the Apostles from preaching the Gospel, and baptizing the inhabitants of this Island in the first century. In vain, however, have I used every means in my power to induce our statesmen to establish a foundation for their claim to interfere in the internal concerns of our Religion. Many of them have taken great notice of me, but none of them has ventured to look my arguments in the face. The chief points which have

* “ We may not be justly reproached for our solicitude
 “ in guarding those sacred things (the integrity and safety
 “ of the Catholic religion, &c.), for which we are bound to
 “ watch and bear testimony with our lives, if required.”—
 Resolutions of the Irish Catholic Bishops in Synod assembled, March 24, and the four following days, 1810.

been urged against me are the following:—first, that I am not qualified to decide on the opinions, or eventual conduct of persons of my body. True, I cannot answer for the conduct of individuals, because they are at liberty to choose, or to invent a religion of their own; but it so happens, that I am authorized to pronounce, and that *judicially*, what is the *doctrine and discipline of the Catholic Church*, and it is a fact, that I speak in perfect unison with the whole Catholic Hierarchy of Ireland upon this subject.—To this objection Mr. PONSONBY adds, that he has never communicated to me the intentions of Opposition, with respect to the arrangements of our discipline, when he and his friends shall get into power, and that I am the last man in the world to whom he should think of communicating them—I do most sincerely thank him for the compliment. It proves that he does not think me likely to become a traitor to my cause; nor to become, a second time, a dupe in it. With respect to the fact of my alleged ignorance, it is very possible that I may not know of all the changes which he intends to attempt, when he happens to get into the chair of power*; and I can easily understand the po-

* It appears from Sir John Hippisley's Speech, p. 27. and it is otherwise known that one of the projected arrangements is an Office of Inquisition, for examining every kind of foreign correspondence of the Catholic Clergy.—The basis of the whole arrangement is the absolute and entire subjugation of the Catholic to the controul of a rival Church.

licy of his not disclosing them prematurely; but I think I have sufficient reason to say, that besides an *efficient controul* over the election of our Bishops by the Home Secretary of State, it is intended that an equal power shall be exercised by the Justices of Peace (Orangemen, or not Orangeman) in the appointment of our officiating Priests, and that both orders shall be effectually separated from their connexions with the people, and rendered dependant on the Treasury for their daily bread*. There are, however, two projected measures of these Statesmen, which I highly approve of, and which they well know they could carry into effect, if they thought proper to propose them in Parliament, independently of the higher claims, namely, an alteration in the Article of War, by means of which the 200,000 brave Catholics†, who are fighting the battles of their country, by sea and land, would enjoy the same religious liberty which other subjects enjoy, and an injunction obliging the Catholic Clergy to keep proper registers of the baptisms, marriages, and funerals,

* It is conceived, however, that the nerve of the projected arrangement has been cut asunder by the following Resolution of the Prelates in their Synod, held as above:—
 “ Resolved, That we neither seek nor *desire* any other
 “ *earthly consideration* for our spiritual ministry to our re-
 “ spective flocks, save what they may, from a sense of re-
 “ ligious and duty, voluntarily afford us.”

† See Sir John Hippisley's Substance of Additional Observations.

performed by them, in the same manner that the established Clergy are obliged to do it. To such wise and patriotic measures no objection will be made on any side, that I know of; whereas, for half-instructed Catholic Laymen to negotiate with Protestant Statemen, to regulate the exercise of the Sacrament of Orders, and the transmission of spiritual jurisdiction, is a policy as ridiculous as it is invalid. It can lead to nothing but disappointment and vexation on both sides, and, if followed up, must end in schism in one party, and the extremity of active persecution in the other*. It is honest, wise, and friendly in me, who am an authorised judge of the matter, and deeply concerned in it, and who speak in the name of others, who are also judges†, and more immediately concerned, to protest as earnestly and as loudly as I can against the measure‡.

* It was this lay interference with the spiritual jurisdiction of the Church, on the part of the French National Assembly, at the beginning of their Revolution, which, being opposed by all the conscientious Clergy of France, ended in the murder of 4000, and the banishment of 40,000 of them.

† In the year 1808, some of those lay Catholics of England, who are now negotiating with the heads of Opposition about Vetos and other ecclesiastical arrangements, professed themselves willing to make an *open surrender of these points*; when they were answered, that they had *no power in the business, and that it did not regard them*.

‡ “Resolved, That it appertains to the order, charge, and spiritual authority of Bishops of the Catholic Church to propose, entertain, and judge, *without any lay intervention*, on points of Christian faith and general discipline.”—*Ibid*.

Having now, I trust, vindicated myself from the reported attack upon me by Mr. PONSONBY, and from the published censure on my writings and conduct, extorted by my professed enemies from the company in Stanhope-street, I shall here, Sir, close my correspondence with you for the present, unless those enemies should have the manliness to defend their work of darkness in their own names, through the channel of one or other of those public presses which they so often employ for less honourable purposes†, and which they pay with money I have helped to raise. I cannot, however, conclude without thanking you, Mr. EDITOR, on the part of many thousands of Catholics, (whose genuine sense of what is going forward in our body there may exist a

* The writer alludes to anonymous defamatory paragraphs, mutilated and altered deeds, and false or misrepresented Reports of Parliamentary speeches. For example, by garbling a few words out of the 16th Resolution of the Irish Prelates, they are represented, in the presses alluded to, as approving of that English Resolution, which they expressly rejected.—Again, an Irish Peer, who is supposed to be angry with the Irish Catholic Bishops, because they would not promote a Clergyman, who goes by the name of *the Buck Priest*, to the vacant See of Tuam, is said to have inveighed, on the 6th instant, against them, and against me by name; all which invective is printed at length in these newspapers; after which the Duke of Norfolk is introduced as rising up, and saying: “I fear there is too much truth “in what the Noble Earl has declared:” whereas his Grace did, in fact, make that very explicit and generous defence of me, which appears in *THE STATESMAN* of the 12th inst. And yet, if any one were to tell the contrivers of that base imposition on the Public, that they *are not honourable men*, they would be very angry.

necessity of bringing before the Public and the Legislature) as well as on my own, for publishing this Vindication, and without expressing my ardent wish, that every calumniated and oppressed subject may experience the substantial benefit of the Freedom of the Press, by finding a liberal and an independent print like THE STATESMAN.

Wolverhampton, June 20.

J. MILNER.

POSTSCRIPT.

As my implacable enemies continue to trumpet through England and Ireland “ that most important document of Dr. MILNER’s disgrace,” as they term a sophisticated report of Mr. PONSOMBY’s late speech, which they have published in their hired newspapers of May 28, I beg leave to remind them, that in the beginning of this very report, they introduce the Right Honourable Gentleman as acknowledging that—“ it is perfectly incorrect to state, that the accredited Agent of the Catholic Bishops of Ireland had authorized me (Mr. P.) to make any proposal in their name.” This is a most important concession ; for it will appear, on turning to the debates of May, 1808, that a *proposal was made*

on the (alleged) authority of the Catholics, and that I was the person mentioned who had authorized the proposal. Mr. YORK's question to the above-named Gentleman was this: "I wish to know what he (Mr. P.) meant when he said that the Catholics of Ireland WISH HIM TO SAY that his MAJESTY should have a negative on the appointment of Bishops in Ireland?" It is, then, as clear as the noon-day light, from the Gentleman's speech in the present year, that my name was improperly mentioned two years before as the authority for the alleged WISH of the Catholics that the proposal in question should be made in Parliament. I again repeat, that I had not the most distant suspicion that a proposal of any kind was to be made, on the part of the Catholics, or of any of them; and that, if I had entertained such a suspicion, the injunction of the Gentleman requiring me to write to Ireland for instructions on the subject, would have entirely removed it. Again the Right Honourable Gentleman is introduced, saying, "Lord FINGAL told me (when he carried up the Petition to London in 1808, before Dr. MILNER's name was mentioned) that in 1799 the Catholic Bishops had made a proposal to the Irish Government, and that they now entertained the same opinion they then entertained. I asked Lord FINGAL if I had permission to state such a

proposal at the present time? He said, *certainly.*”

If this be true, I ask with what justice was the *whole responsibility* of the proposal thrown by the Gentleman upon my shoulders—supposing I had known that it was to be made, and supposing I had even authorized its being made, neither of which is true? It would answer no other purpose than to afford an unnecessary triumph over my adversaries, to expose the falsehood and inconsistency of the many circumstances and conversations with which the report in question is swelled out—such, for example, as that ‘Lord FINGAL promised that I would write to Mr. P. out of Warwickshire; that I was in London before the 3d of May; that when I waited upon that gentleman, (May 27, the day after the Debate closed) I said “it would be necessary for me to publish *something* to justify myself,” &c. I shall barely remark, with respect to the last-mentioned circumstance, that *the something* in question I actually held in my hand, being a *printed protest* against different parts of that Gentleman’s speech, as it was reported in all the newspapers, and that I protested, in particular, against “the Catholic Bishops being concluded,” by the opinion which I had expressed, and against the expectation which he had held out, that the Bishops would, in any circumstances, send up to Government the

names of *trios upon trios of candidates*, or even consent to its *choosing one name out of a single trio of their own proposing*. I also confined the expectation of a negative upon single names to **A REASONABLE NUMBER OF TIMES**, and I clearly stated that it was to be exercised exclusively on civil grounds, that is to say, *barely to ascertain the loyalty of the future Bishop*.—Whoever attends to the limitations of such kind of *Veto*, will clearly see that it gives *neither power nor influence to an uncatholic Government, over any part of the Catholic Church*; and that, of course, there was no inconsistency in my declaring that “I would rather yield my life, than yield such a power,” at the very time that I was holding up an expectation that this *Veto* would be granted by the Bishops. Again, whoever attends to this Protest will clearly see that, however it may comport with the character of lawyers, it does not comport with that of Gentlemen, to take advantage of the loose terms of the hasty confidential note, or memorandum (relating to a great variety of heterogeneous matters), which I sent to Mr. PONSONBY, after the conversation I held with him, inasmuch as that the note appears, upon the face of it, to have been a sequel to that conversation, and was to be taken, as to its sense, conjointly with it. The proof of this is, that Mr. P—— DID, UPON THE FIRST PERUSAL OF THE PRO-

TEST, CONTAINING ALL THE ABOVE-MENTIONED PARTICULARS, MOST CHEERFULLY CONSENT TO MY CIRCULATING IT; saying, as I have mentioned before concerning it: “This is very fair on your part, I have no objection to your circulating it.”

In proof of this consent, I may mention, that it was well known, at the time, to Mr. GRAT-TAN, Lord FINGAL, the Honourable R. CLIFFORD, and many other respectable personages, who used every argument in their power to induce me entirely to suppress it, for fear it should find its way into the newspapers, and thereby destroy the impression which the Right Honourable Gentleman’s eloquence had produced; and yet a little reflection, in my opinion, must have convinced them all that the Catholic Bishops never would, under any circumstances whatsoever, consent to *make the KING virtually the Head of the Catholic Church*, which opinion the Gentleman was reported to have held out, and which he actually did hold out. This Gentleman is said to have complained heavily of my ingratitude in representing him and his political friends as not being favourable to the *religion* of Catholics, at the same time that I allow them to be most generous and powerful advocates for their *civil rights*. All that I shall say upon

this subject is, that if I were to hold the contrary language, and to represent them as favourable to *Popery itself*, I have good reason to think he would be much more angry with me.

J. MILNER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE STATESMAN.

SIR,

Shrewsbury, June 10.

I have read lately in your Paper some excellent letters from Doctor MILNER, the Catholic Bishop, whose writings for many years past, in various branches of polite Learning, as well as in Controversy, have afforded me much instruction. I happened to be personally present at the Debate in the House of Lords on the night of Wednesday last, the 6th inst. upon Lord DONOUGHMORE'S Motion in favour of the Catholic Bill, and heard with satisfaction the noble and generous vindication of Doctor MILNER, pronounced by his Grace the Duke of NORFOLK.

As the *Globe*, and other Papers of Thursday last, have reported Lord CLANCARTY'S animadversions upon Dr. MILNER'S writings, but have omitted to notice this passage of the Duke of NORFOLK'S forcible and impressive Speech, I trust you will, in justice, insert it in your Paper, as a tribute unquestionably due to this valuable Divine.—The following are the very words of the passage I allude to, and I can vouch for their accuracy.

His Grace said—

“ A Noble Earl (CLANCARTY) has thought proper to introduce into the debate of this evening the name of Doctor MILNER, a Roman Catholic Bishop. It seems quite

“ unfair to animadvert upon any person, in a place where he
 “ cannot possibly attend to answer in person, and defend
 “ himself. I have the honour of a private acquaintance
 “ with Dr. MILNER. I know him to be a polite scholar, a
 “ Gentleman of eminent learning, and (what is much more
 “ important) equally unimpeachable and exemplary in the
 “ discharge of his duties as a Christian and as a Priest. And
 “ I could wish it had not been said of him, in another
 “ place, in the heat of the debate as I must suppose (allud-
 “ ing probably to Mr. PONSONBY’s speech), that he is a
 “ man not to be believed.”

Such was the powerful testimony of the first
 Peer of the Empire—it repressed all further
 acrimony.—*The Morning Chronicle* notices it,
 but imperfectly. I trust, Sir, your Paper will
 not refuse insertion to this article—having al-
 ready witnessed its candour and independence.

I am, your’s, &c.

L. T. J.

APPENDIX.

N.B. **T**HE English Address of the Irish Catholic Bishops, in Synod assembled on the 26th of last February, to their Flocks, respecting the VETO, and the several matters connected with the VETO, having been published in different ways, the Editor conceives it will prove gratifying to his Readers to furnish them with a Translation of the Latin Address of the same Bishops to all the Catholic Prelates throughout the World, relative to the violence exercised on Pope PIUS VII. which Address was also voted and subscribed by them, in their Synod held on the said 26th of February.

*To the Most Eminent and Reverend Lords, the
BISHOP, PRIEST, and DEACON CARDINALS of the
Holy Roman Church;*

*To the Most Illustrious and Reverend PATRIARCHS,
ARCHBISHOPS, BISHOPS, and APOSTOLICAL VI-
CARS throughout the World,*

*The ARCHBISHOPS and BISHOPS of Ireland send
greeting:—*

That in a new and unexpected calamity we should devise new precautions, and that, in adopting these, we should call for your religious zeal and assistance, the cruel circumstances of the times, or at least, the motive of Christian charity by which we are actuated, will, doubtless, justify

us in your opinion. *For now is the time that judgment should begin from the House of God, 1 Pet. iv. 17.* Let us therefore listen to the voice of our Lord and our God, speaking of the latter times of his people : *When you shall see the abomination of desolation standing in the Holy Place,—then let those who are in Judea flee to the mountains.—But pray that your flight may not be in the winter, or on the Sabbath day.—If therefore they shall say to you : Behold, he is in the desert ; go ye not out : Behold, he is in the closets ; believe it not, Mat. xxiv. 15, 16, 20, 25, 26.* In these words, Christ intimates to his disciples that they are to withdraw for a time (not indeed from their faith, nor from their hope of everlasting salvation), but from the earthly habitation of the true believers, and from the Holy Temple itself, till the judgments of God are fulfilled ; that we are to pray lest the laws or religion of different countries should throw obstacles in the way of this flight ; and lest, our good master and pastor being withdrawn from our sight, we should take occasion to usurp his authority, surrounded as we are on every side with fallacious deceptions and impious artifices. This admonition of our divine teacher extends to these our times ; for we have still a temple which the impious cannot violate, into which our High Priest, JESUS, the author of our Priesthood, has entered once for all in his own blood of the everlasting Covenant ; and we have had earthly abodes resembling and allied with those of the blessed ; we have yet holy Laws extending to the whole kingdom of Christ, of which this is the most comprehensive and the most excellent : that we should all be ONE in Faith, in the Sacraments, and in Charity. “ To “ manifest this UNITY,” says the holy Martyr, St. Cyprian, in his book *on the Unity of the Church*, “ Christ “ has, by his divine authority, established one chair, and “ appointed one source of unity, in such manner that he “ who withdraws himself from the chair of Peter, upon “ which the Church is founded, is no longer within the

“ Church ; and that he who does not hold to the unity of
 “ the Church, has no faith.” This UNITY, for the pre-
 servation of which, our blessed Lord, before he ascended to
 his Heavenly Father, besought him with the piety of a Son,
 and with the Majesty of the Only-begotten Son, is not to
 be broken asunder by the impiety of men, or the violence
 of war, or the mandates of Sovereigns ; since the Son of
 God himself has assured us that it shall not be subject to
 the vicissitudes of this world, where he says to us : *My
 peace I leave you ; my peace I give you. Not such as the
 world gives do I give to you,* John xiv. 27. Hence those
 men who are bent upon oppressing this main source of our
 unity in Christ, so as to prevent its appearance at all, or
 its appearance without bearing, at the same time, the foul
 marks of fraud and deception, are not so much bent upon
 the abolition of a human law, as upon the destruction of
 the main work of JESUS CHRIST himself here upon earth,
 and of the principal hope of Christians in his divine pro-
 mises.

That this has been attempted of late, it is impossible,
 venerable Brethren, that you should be ignorant. You
 have seen the upright, innocent, and holy Pontiff, Pius VII.
 disgracefully and cruelly seized upon, dragged from his ter-
 ritories, and buried in a dungeon. Hence arises the neces-
 sity either of our submitting to a ferocious and insolent
 military power for the most necessary and sacred intercourse
 of our holy Religion, or of our resisting this force in the
 best manner we can.—Could such behaviour be excused in
 any Christian, as to turn a venerable old man out of his ha-
 bitation, and drive him from his country, to oppress an
 unoffending Bishop of God’s Church, to strip the Mother-
 Church of Christianity of the whole of her patrimony, to
 overwhelm a most virtuous personage with detestable calum-
 nies, (crimes which we cannot think of without horror) then
 some sort of excuse might also be admitted for the impious
 perjury committed in the seizure of our Saviour Christ, for

the indignity of spitting upon him in his captivity, and for the injustice of robbing him of his clothes when he was crucified.—These injuries, however, do not affect the holy Pontiff alone; they affect us all; whilst an unauthorized individual arrogates to himself that power which Christ left for the general benefit of his whole Church and of all mankind, and requires us either to seem to abandon Catholic unity, or to yield obedience to the enemies of the British Empire, whom, nevertheless, we are bound by the command of Christ, by the sanctity of our Oath of Allegiance, and by a natural love of our country to oppose, not only by our counsels and exhortations, but also with our persons, even to the shedding of our blood, and the loss of our lives, should this be requisite; which primary duties of Christian citizens we call upon you—we call upon God himself to witness we will most religiously perform.

Therefore, having consulted together on these several matters in this our General Assembly, held in the City of Dublin, we have entered into such Resolutions as will manifest our inviolable attachment to the unity of the Church, and our veneration for the dignity of our Pontiff, Pius VII. and at the same time will prove a preventive against the above-mentioned apprehended evils. The following, then, are the points which we have discussed, decided, and resolved upon for a perpetual remembrance :

“Whereas the Most Holy and Glorious Pope, Pius VII. has, by a despotic mandate and a military force, without any fault on his part, been dragged away from his subjects, and confined in a foreign prison; and whereas there may be danger of his sinking under the horror and sufferings of his situation, and being forced to abdicate his high office in the Church, and to sign some instrument, purporting that he has made such abdication freely and by his own choice :

“Therefore we, the said Archbishops and Bishops, having a thorough knowledge of the case in question, do, with an unanimous consent, reject, abjure, detest, annul and

make void, as to every effect of the Canon Law, all Bulls, whether true or false, Rescripts of every kind, Letters, in the form of Briefs, even those which may profess to be written by the free choice and with the certain knowledge of the writer, which shall or may signify the concession, resignation, or abdication of the Popedom on the part of PIUS VII. until he, the said Pope, shall be delivered from the captivity which he now endures, and restored to the free possession of his office and jurisdiction, and until this his freedom shall be made evident to us by unquestionable proofs, and not by mere acts, purporting to be acts of abdication, nor by any approbations or confirmations whatever which may be annexed to the same.

“ And should his said Holiness, Pope PIUS VII. being yet a prisoner, though under much less restraint than he is under at present, resign, or appear to have resigned, his high office, we declare such resignation, past, present, or to come, absolutely null, and we will continue to date the years of his Pontificate alone, without taking notice of any such pretended abdication.

“ But if the said Pontiff, PIUS VII. should depart this life during his present captivity, we consider the Holy Apostolical See as being vacant, till it shall be fully and canonically notified to the Churches of Ireland that a successor to him has been lawfully, holily, and freely chosen. — Such are our decisions and declarations, in the name of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, and in the unity of his spirit, and in the faith of the Catholic Church.”

You clearly see that these our Resolutions are by no means intended to subvert the highest dignity in the Church, namely, the prerogative of the Holy See; but that, on the contrary, they are calculated to defend its never-failing authority from violence and indignity, and to prevent that bond of unity which Christ has left in his Church from being abused by a fraudulent tyranny for the destruction of our faith, and of the public peace, to the great dishonour

of the Apostolical See. We therefore commend this our decision to your fraternal charity, and we beseech you, for the love of Christ, and of his body (the Church) that if, for prudential reasons, you should not imitate our example, you will, at least, assist us with your prayers.—Fare ye well in the Lord, most Eminent Lords and Venerable Brethren.

Resolved in the General Assembly of the Bishops of Ireland, held in Dublin, February 26, 1810, in the tenth year of the Pontificate of our Holy Father, Pope Pius VII.

FINIS.

AN
ELUCIDATION
OF
THE VETO,
IN A
THREEFOLD ADDRESS
TO THE PUBLIC, THE CATHOLICS,
AND THE
ADVOCATES of CATHOLICS in PARLIAMENT.

By the Rev. J. MILNER, D. D. F. S. A. &c.

*Quæque ipse miserrima vidi
Et quorum pars magna fui.*

ÆNEID.

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SHARROCK, Preston; and by FITZFATRICK, Dublin.

1810.

AN
ELUCIDATION, &c.

THERE surely never was a subject of public discussion so much confused and so variously misunderstood as what is called THE VETO. But what wonder, when some of the different parties more immediately concerned in it, purposely adopt obscure and ambiguous language in treating with each other and the public about it. This may be right in a political point of view, though I myself think otherwise, but I am sure it must be wrong in a religious one; and, as it is my duty to consider the subject in this light, I mean to speak out plainly and fully concerning it to the Public, to the Catholics, and to the parliamentary Friends of Catholics; and to point out to them their respective mistakes, as far as the knowledge which I have had opportunities of acquiring concerning this matter, enables me to do so. I know that in doing this I shall give offence to several individuals for whom I feel great respect and regard, and that these persons will not fail to raise a violent outcry about the alledged evils resulting from the measure: but these evils, were they real, and were they ten times greater than they will be represented, are trifling compared with the effect of those deceptions which it is my duty to expose. The expected discussion in Parliament on Mr. Grattan's motion, which

is now fixed for the 15th of the present month of May, will unavoidably withdraw a corner of the veil that envelopes this subject; but unless the veil be totally removed, I foresee that the discussion itself will create fresh errors, and the matter will become more complicate and confused than ever.

§ I.

Many of the public then suppose that the Veto, of which they have heard so much, consists in a direct power of His Majesty to nominate or present Bishops to their offices, in the same manner that he does Protestant Bishops, and they think it very natural that he should enjoy this power. But these persons are not sensible of the nature and import of a nomination or presentation to a bishoprick according to the theology and canon law of Catholics. This then, in the Catholic system, is a public testimony (which the person who presents, makes in the name of the Catholic flock to the Church, in the persons of the ordaining Prelates) of the general merit, and particularly of the *orthodoxy* of the candidate presented. Now would it not be a palpable absurdity for a person, who, like His Majesty, strongly protests against the supposed heterodoxy and even the idolatry of Catholics in general, to vouch for the orthodoxy of their very teachers? Again, the very act of representing a catholic congregation, and the presenting a clergyman to be ordained a Catholic Bishop, is an overt act of religious communion with Catholics. It is needless to ask whether His Majesty wishes or his subjects in general wish that he should appear in this light.

In the second place; it has been generally believed by the public that the writer of this, in quality of Agent to the Catholic Bishops of Ireland, procured, or at least authorized a proposal to be made, in the House of Commons

on the 25th of May 1808, for vesting His Majesty, either with a positive power of nominating Catholic Bishops in this kingdom, or, at least, with such a negative power as would amount to "a real and effectual nomination of them"(1).—The truth, however, is that the writer *never took upon himself to procure or to authorize any proposal at all to be made in either House of Parliament.* The fact is, he was sent for up to London, by a nobleman charged with the custody of the Catholic Petition, five or six days before the date above-mentioned, and introduced by him to a certain leading member of the House of Commons, when the question was put to him, in quality of agent to the Catholic Bishops, *what power they would yield to the crown in future appointments to their vacant sees?* His answer was, and this he repeated different times, that he had *no instructions from them* as to this matter, and therefore could *give no pledge* on their behalf concerning it: that he well knew they could not yield to a *Protestant Sovereign a positive power* in a concern of this nature, but that he was fully *persuaded* they were disposed to yield a *negative power*; that is to say, such a power as was sufficient to prevent *disloyal or seditious candidates* from being consecrated: for there was not then the least question about *giving security to the Protestant Establishment*, but barely about *providing against treason and sedition.* The conversation was very short and vague. The writer considered himself as barely *giving information to a friendly advocate*, in the same manner as he had done to Mr. Fox and other members of parliament, when the former petition in 1805 was in agitation; and *he had not the most distant idea of forming any project to be offered to*

(1) See the Report of the Debates published by certain Catholics, and sold by Faulder, p. 114. It is full of grammatical inaccuracies, and frequently varies very much from the speeches actually delivered. Still as many of these were revised by the speakers themselves, they are to be considered in the present form as containing their deliberate sentiments.

Parliament. The same was the meaning of a short note which the writer scribbled over in a bookseller's shop, and sent to the personage in question as he was returning home from the interview : concerning which note much misrepresentation has taken place. It was intended to explain a condition which the writer was fearful he had not sufficiently expressed in the conversation, of which conversation he considered it as *a supplement, to be understood in conjunction with what had passed in it.* In proof of the truth of this statement, it is proper to mention that the writer printed a paper on the very 26th of May 1808, within a few hours after the newspaper reports of the debate on the preceding evening were published, in which he strongly protests against certain statements in those reports relative to the conversation in question, gives the same account in substance as is given now, and maintains in particular, that he did *not enter into an engagement, but barely gave an opinion* as to what the Bishops would consent to, without the least engagement. This paper (copies of which are still in the writer's possession) was shewn to different members of parliament, and particularly to the member in question, who consented to his circulating it in Ireland. When afterwards these personages were accused in the Morning Post of a foul imposition on the public, in pretending to have held communications with Catholics which had never taken place, the writer thought it his duty to step forward in the Morning Chronicle, in order to clear them from the aspersion, and to testify that they had conversed with the agent of the Irish Bishops, and that they had reason to suppose, as far as his opinion went, that these Prelates would concede to his Majesty's government a certain restricted negative power. To finish this history : the Catholic Bishops met in Dublin on the 14th of September 1808, when they unanimously pronounced it to be "inexpedient to introduce any alteration in the "canonical mode hitherto observed in the nomination of

“the Roman Catholic Bishops of Ireland;” to which decision their agent, who was then in Dublin, sincerely submitted. Discovering afterwards, and clearly ascertaining that a restricted negative, confined in its exercise to a certain number of times, and to the sole purposes of civil allegiance, would not satisfy our political friends, but that they were bent upon acquiring a real efficient controul over the choice of our Bishops, and by that means over the discipline, if not the faith of our Church, he grew convinced that it was his duty to oppose the new arrangements altogether, by whatever name they might be called, and to stand by that engagement which he had publicly made, and printed in the newspapers *at the very time* when he advocated the restricted negative; namely, “rather to give his blood, than to give to an uncatholic Sovereign either power or influence in any part of the Catholic Church.” The fact is, the Veto, as he had imagined it, in case its conditions were strictly adhered to, would not have given either power or influence to the crown, but barely the means (which at first he conceived was all that was wished for) of excluding real traitors and disturbers of the public peace from a seat amongst our Prelates. If this statement be true, and the writer defies a refutation of it, where is that inconsistency of his conduct with which he has been so often reproached? Nay, how could he, as a consistent Catholic and an honest man, have acted a different part from that which he has acted?

Amongst those who have been most forward in urging these reproaches, is the author of a pamphlet called *Columbanus ad Hibernos*, not St. Columba of Jona, nor St. Columban of Luxieu, but a person well known for his antipathy to a British Virgin of the seventh century, called St. Winefrid, and for his petulance towards the present writer; as also from his making use of the press in the town of Buckingham. This modern Columba calls the writer a *Polypus*, a *stick*, a *stone*, a *clod of earth*, *fire*

and water, &c. (1) by way of charging him with inconsistency, in having heretofore defended one kind of Veto, and in now objecting to quite a different sort of it. But surely he can understand, that if I were to approach a bush thinking to take a gentle dove (2), and found instead of it a fierce serpent (3), there would be no inconsistency in my now running to, and then running from, the same object. It is possible that Columba (4) may be acquainted with some of the circumstances which contributed to open the writer's eyes as to the real nature of the proposed arrangements. If so, though I shall not men-

(1) Columban, pp. 54, 55. (2) Columba. (3) Coluber.

(4) This writer insinuates, that I have made a "Saint Cobbet," merely because I gave a friendly and very useful piece of advice to some of his friends, through the Political Journal, being the best written, and the most generally read of all our periodical papers. Within three weeks after I had published my predictions, namely, within three weeks after the 13th of January, they were sadly verified. He insinuates also that I have made a saint of Mr. Finerty. He may be a saint for any thing I know of him, even by character; but certainly I have not canonized him,—His principal charge, however, against me is, that I thanked Lord Grenville and Messrs. Grattan and Ponsonby for their speeches, and yet that I have declared "I would rather die than attribute power to a Protestant king over our Church." But certainly a client may thank his zealous and powerful advocate, without approving of every thing which he may have advanced in a speech of three or four hours continuance. I am sure Lord G. never fancied that I approved, for example, of his lamentations over the supposed "errors of my faith." It is true, that as his Lordship thought proper, of his own accord, to mention the Veto in the House of Lords, I thanked him for steering clear of the fatal mistake which had been made on that head in another place. Columba has good reason to know that, when I waited on that Nobleman, and the two Right Hon. Gentlemen, I carried with me the above-mentioned printed protest against those mistakes.—Finally, Columba accuses me of wickedness and heresy, in saying that it would be martyrdom for a Catholic to shed his blood, rather than yield the dominion over his Church to an uncatholic King.—My answer is, that it belongs to my office, not to his, to judge in these matters, and that I repeat the assertion.

tion them, he may, if he pleases, publish them. The professed object of his book is, to recommend "to the island of saints those *salutary restraints* of legal responsibility, avowedly consistent with its faith, which *sober anti-fanatical statesmen* endeavour, in *pity to the Irish people*, to interpose, as an ægis of defence, between their liberties and the usurpations of that uncontrouled Maynooth *Imperium in Imperio*, which is insidiously styled the Independant Hierarchy of the Irish Church." In other words, he advises his countrymen, to abjure the spiritual jurisdiction of their present canonical Catholic Prelates, and to acknowledge that of Protestant Statesmen. In furtherance of this scheme, he represents these Prelates, whom every body but himself speaks well of, in the most odious colours of selfishness, malice, pride, &c. What a comfort must it be for Columba to think that he is not likely to be disgraced by keeping such bad company, or even to be troubled with their commissions, unless he should undergo another metamorphosis, in the shape of a retraction! The truth is, his book is a medley of ecclesiastical democracy, schism, and heresy. It will do little harm in Ireland, because it will be little read there; in the mean time it does some good:—it shews the man, and exposes the projected system of arrangements.

But the public has been told, that the Irish Catholic Prelates themselves have acceded to the Veto (and a paper relating to this business has been printed, first in the Catholic Report of the Debates, and afterwards in other publications): I shall say nothing of the means by which that paper was obtained, nor of the manner in which it was made public, but shall proceed to give an account of the whole matter in question. In January 1799, (a period when Orangemen and soldiers were demolishing chapels and torturing Catholic peasants, on one hand, and ministry was employing every artifice to induce the Catholics, as well as the other inhabitants of Ireland, to agree to the proposed legislative union, on the other) ten

Catholic bishops, being in Dublin upon other business, were so beset and plied by an able politician and orator, Lord Castlereagh, then Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, that as the Primate himself has told the writer, they were really led to believe that their Church, upon this event's taking place, would not only be protected and honoured, but also that it would, in a sort of a subordinate way, become the established Church of Ireland. Under this persuasion these ten Prelates "admitted that, in the appointment of the Prelates of the R. Catholic religion to vacant Sees, *such interference* of Government as may enable it to be satisfied of the *loyalty* of persons appointed, is just and ought to be agreed to."—But then, observe, that at the very head of this paper they claimed for themselves and their episcopal brethren, not only the integrity of their doctrine and discipline, but also "their just influence" over such appointment, that is to say, they insist that the controul over it should remain in their hands, and admit no other interference of Government, except such as might be necessary, in the imaginary case of a traitor, or a seditious man being chosen by them to be a Bishop.—They moreover add the following important condition: "Agreeably to the discipline of the R. Catholic Church, these regulations can have no effect without the sanction of the Holy See." To make short of the matter, the Bishops were imposed upon, and so were the whole body of the Irish Catholics, with respect to the Union. For no sooner had his Majesty passed the Act of Union, (the fourth article of which sanctions the principle of abrogating the Anti-Catholic oath), than the Catholics were given to understand, that the King could not in any circumstances whatsoever, consent to the cancelling of them. This want of good faith in treating with them, accompanied with other circumstances of a higher nature, caused the united Prelacy of about thirty Bishops, assembled in Dublin nine years afterwards, namely, on the 14th of September, 1808, unanimously "to vote the inexp-

diency of admitting any interference of Government whatsoever in this matter. At the same time, however, they gave a solemn pledge, that they themselves would take care that "none but men of the purest loyalty should be raised to the episcopal station amongst them." It is needless to observe, that for doing this, namely, for securing the loyalty of their successors, they are infinitely better qualified than all his Majesty's ministers put together. Both the Resolutions in question were confirmed by the assembled Bishops, in a synod held in Dublin, on the 26th of last February (1).

A general idea has long been prevalent in England, that, in case the Irish Bishops and Clergy were to be taken into the pay of Government, by having salaries allowed them, they would consent to any sort of veto, or other arrangement which might be proposed to them on its part. In the mean time, not a suspicion has been entertained by any individual as to the willingness of persons of their supposed character and description to accept of pensions. But it is fitting the public should know that these Bishops (whom the degenerate Columba represents as such mean, selfish beings, all in consequence of their above mentioned Resolution respecting the Veto: *Hinc illa lachrymæ*) actuated by no motive of vanity or resentment; but by a pure and consistent zeal for the independency of their hierarchy and spiritual functions, did, in their late synod, on the 21th of February, unanimously vote as follows: "Resolved, that we neither seek nor desire any other earthly consideration for our spiritual ministry to our respective flocks, save what they may, from a sense of religion and duty, voluntarily afford us." This Resolution of his servile Bishops makes the independent Priest Columba quite outrageous. Accordingly he sets to computing the amount of the pence and half-pennies which the edifying and indefatigable fathers of

(1) See Appendix.

their people, the parish priests of Ireland, receive from their willing and grateful flocks, and which he thinks proper to state at 200,000 pounds per annum. This he says, "begins to be weighed in the scales of politicians" (1), and he represents the appointment of parish priests, in consequence of the poor people's contri-
 buting to their subsistence, as "an uncontroled temporal patronage," intimating the possibility that some "statesman may be meditating plans for the purpose of proposing a more rational system of ecclesiastical Government!" (2)

Lastly, the public are continually told by different statesmen and their echo's, that the interference of Government in the appointment of Catholic Bishops is the grand specific for securing the peace of Ireland. Heavens! what falsehood and folly is not the public doomed to swallow in this enlightened age as it is pleased to call itself! What; to violate the religion of a country, as the inhabitants themselves understand it; is this the way to pacify it! But the other day you caused a torrent of British blood to flow in India, and nearly lost the country, by clipping the whiskers, and altering the turbans of your Mahomedan soldiers there (though there is nothing about whiskers or turbans in the Koran); and you think to content Irish Catholics by telling them that they are no longer to hold their essential spiritual communion with the common Head of Catholicity, the Bishop of Rome, but that "a Protestant King is to become the head of their Church, as much as he is the head of his own!" (3) But besides religious there are also strong national feelings in the present case. In fact the Irish are heard to exclaim: "We have no one monument of our national independence left, except our ecclesiastical hierarchy,

(1) P. 5. (2) Ibid.

(3) See the Report of the Debates on the Catholic Petition in 1808, in the newspapers of that period.

“ which has been preserved to us under a persecution of
 “ near three hundred years continuance, by the zeal and
 “ patient sufferings of our Bishops and Clergy. Do you
 “ envy us that, which is an ideal being, a nothing in your
 “ eye, merely because it is something valuable in ours? We
 “ have been stripped of every civil right, and of our very
 “ existence as a nation, which if we had only retained five
 “ years longer we should now have enjoyed five years of
 “ liberty. Happily our independent spiritual hierarchy,
 “ seated in the highest heavens, and in the secret of our
 “ consciences, cannot be touched by your parchments or
 “ offensive weapons.” Such it is well known, to every person
 acquainted with the state of Ireland, are the sentiments of
 four millions of Irish Catholics, in opposition to less than
 as many hundreds of their number. In conformity with
 these sentiments **THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF
 THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND** resolved in their
 meeting on the 2d of March, Lord FFrench being in the
 chair, as follows: “ Resolved, that, as Irishmen and as
 “ Catholics, we never can consent to any dominion or
 “ controul whatsoever, over the appointment of our Pre-
 “ lates, on the Part of the Crown, or of the servants of
 “ the Crown.”

SECT. II.

A great proportion of the English Catholics are under
 as great errors respecting this business of the Veto, and
 the matters connected with it, as the public at large; and
 their errors are to them of much greater practical im-
 portance. Hence the necessity of enlightening them.—
 In the first place they are assured, and have been led to
 believe that the arrangements, as they are called, which
 are now in contemplation, do not threaten the slightest
 injury to the faith, discipline, or safety of the Catholic

Religion. So we were assured with respect to the condemned oath, and the other arrangements under debate, regarding the election of Bishops some twenty years ago, in three quarto Blue Books written by that learned gentleman, who is now playing over again the game which he then lost. And yet it is allowed on all hands, at present, that if we had credited the assurances then given us, and adopted the measures then proposed, we should have been included indeed in the French constitutional schism (1) under the title then assumed of *Protesting Catholic Dissenters*; but we should not have been recognized as brethren by the Head and Members of the great Catholic Church. I, for my part, who, from my station, ought to know what the Catholic Religion is, on one hand, and who, from certain advantages which I have possessed, ought to know what the arrangements which are in contemplation are better than most other Catholics, am free to declare, that as the Church at large was never, since the days of Dioclesian, under such an oppressive persecution as at present, so the Catholic Church of the united kingdom never was in so much danger as she is in now, since the reign of Elizabeth. The mischief is of the same nature in every quarter; namely, an attempt upon the independant spiritual jurisdiction of the Catholic Church. On the continent it proceeds by open violence; amongst us, it is more dangerously conducted by sap and surprise.

In the next place : many Catholics have been led into a foolish and dangerous confidence in their great political friends, as well with respect to the safety of their religion, as in other respects. On this subject I shall repeat what one of the very first amongst them, in point of informa-

(1) The schismatical Constitutional Church of France, in their printed Acts, acknowledged the persons in question as their brethren, and they are described by Evans and several other Protestant writers as a class of Christians distinct from common Catholics.

tion as well as of rank, said to me when I was last in London. "I observe," says he, "that you Catholics are constantly talking, in a very general way, of the support of your friends in parliament. But do not imagine that, if we are the friends of your emancipation, we are also the friends of your religion." I answered, that for my part I never entertained that error. Another of our best and kindest friends in parliament, addressing the other day a very respectable personage, a friend of mine, whose sentiments he happened greatly to mistake, said to him: "Let us alone with what we are about: in five years there will not be left a Catholic Peer in the kingdom." In fact, have not all these friends sworn, as the condition of their admission into parliament, that our worship is idolatry? And it would be a libel upon them to say that they do not wish to convert idolaters. In their very pleadings for us they profess this wish; and many of them are the most forward, for example, in distributing Bibles amongst our poor people, not that they expect these people will hammer the 39 articles any more than Quakerism out of it, but it is well understood that when once we turn our back upon the living, speaking tribunal of the Church, and take the letter of the revealed law into our own hands, to interpret it, each for himself, we cease to be Catholics. I may here mention, (in the fond hope of causing effectual inquiry to be made into the political as well as religious mischief,) that upon the large estates of certain great landed proprietors in Ireland, no Catholic, however good a tenant he may have proved himself, is allowed to retain his farm upon the expiration of his lease; but Protestant tenants are universally sought for with as much zeal as another member of Parliament, the Rt. Hon. Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, advertised some some years ago, for a *Protestant blacksmith*. I mention these circumstances with the utmost respect for our Parliamentary advocates, and with a full conviction that they do not wish to be considered as favouring our

religion, merely to shew that those who are Catholics, not by halves,(1) nor by a mere hereditary connexion, but who are entirely and conscientiously so, must not put their religion in commission with persons, however honourable, who protest against it, but must look to themselves, or rather to their pastors for its security.

I now proceed to the main point to be proved, namely, that *the arrangements to which our political friends have declared themselves immoveably fixed are incompatible with the safety and integrity of the Catholic religion.* Nothing, most assuredly but a deep conviction of this truth could have induced the writer, after sacrificing no small degree

(1) A learned Catholic gentleman who cultivates various studies, but who writes theology, as he says in the motto to his last work, by way of *relaxation from his graver studies*, is for ever importuning Catholics with a project which he has conceived of uniting Christians of all denominations, Catholics, Protestants, Joannians, Jumpers, Jerusalemites, &c. in one religion. Speaking of this his undertaking, he calls it "an Herculean labour, but not impracticable;" and adds; "It is evident that, at one time more than another, the public mind may be disposed to peaceful councils, and to feel the advantage of *mutual concessions*: perhaps *venit hora et nunc est.*" He continues, "a flood of light seems to break in and to point out to all who invoke the name of Christ, the expediency of a general coalition in defence of their common Christianity." See *Revolutions of the German Empire*, by Charles Butler, Esq. pp. 154, 155. In his work, which has just appeared, the *Life of Fenelon*, he expresses himself in much the same language. See notes at the end. And in this he is pleased to draw up a new Creed, consisting of eleven Articles, for the common use, as he explains, of Catholics, Churchmen, Dissenters, Socinians, &c. Treating on a particular occasion with this hopeful disciple of the latitudinarian Dr. Geddes, (See his edition of Dr. G—'s Version of the Psalms, published in opposition to the censure of the V. V. A. on Dr. Geddes's Translation, in their printed Pastoral of 1793) he avowed that the Protestants had gone into Socinianism. Within less than five minutes afterwards he launched forth into his favourite topic, the religious union of Catholics with Protestants. "How now Sir," said I, "after going over to the thirty-nine Articles, are we to follow them also into Socinianism?" The orator for once was dumfounded.

of popularity in Ireland, by advocating the negative power, as he first understood it, to forfeit the favour and patronage of so many illustrious personages in his own country by opposing it now that he has distinctly viewed it. To prove the assertion here made, I have to shew, first, that a real and efficient power of nominating the head pastors of our religion, whether by a positive power, or by a negative power equivalent to a positive one, namely, by a discretionary Veto, independantly of all other arguments, must bring about such a degradation of the episcopacy, and thereby of the other clergy, in their character, their conduct, and their doctrine, as would soon prove the annihilation of Catholicity amongst us : — Secondly, that the attempt to deprive the successor of St. Peter in the See of Rome, of whatever country he may chance to be a native, of his right to give investiture to our bishops, is an attempt to drive the Catholics into a downright schism, and of course to destroy their character of Catholics : — And, thirdly, that our parliamentary friends do absolutely insist upon one, if not both of these things.

In fact, what description of clergymen would the Privy Counsellor Dr. Duigenan, were he promoted to be Minister, or indeed any other Protestant Minister who had an efficient power in this respect, choose for filling up our vacant Sees? Would they be our Challoners, or our Walmsleys, men who, by their pastoral labours and writings, had incurred the censure of false zeal and bigotry.(1) Do not you think they would rather be the Kirwan's, the

(1) Mr. Burke in his letter to a Peer of Ireland, speaking of Castle Patronage says, " Never were the Members of one religious Sect fit
" to appoint Pastors to another. Those who have no regard for their
" welfare, reputation, or internal quiet, will not appoint such as are
" proper. The sport of the Seraglio, with the miserable dignities
" of the Greek Church and the factions of the Haram, to which
" they make them subservient, are nearly equal to all the other
" oppressions together exercised by Musselmén over the unhappy
" members of the Oriental Church. It is a great deal to suppose

Geddes's, and the Doran's, men who would either sacrifice the principles of our religion or disgrace it by their immorality? To satisfy yourselves on this point look at the alledged motive for the interference of State Ministers in the selection of our Bishops: it is to ensure the safety of the *religious* as well as the civil *establishment* of the country. Now we can readily conceive how such a Bishop as the learned gentleman's friend, Dr. Geddes, (who in his *modest Apology*, written in opposition to the *Letters against Dr. Sturges*, gives up the Catholic doctrine upon every point of controversy, and calls for one more general council to revise the decisions of all past general councils), we can conceive, I say, how he may serve other religions, by betraying his own, but we cannot understand how a Challoner, the author of *Grounds of the Old Religion*, could contribute to this. The truth, however, is, the King's Minister himself would very seldom have a choice in this matter. The fact speaks for itself: upon the demise of each Catholic Prelate, twenty noblemen or gentlemen would hurry up to the Castle of Dublin, each one soliciting or rather requiring that his dependant priest should be appointed to the vacant see. This might be indifferently effected whether the Lord Lieutenant possessed a positive power or an efficient negative one, as, in the latter case, he would only have to apply his Veto to every other name except that of the person recommended, whose influence at elections would be the stipulated price of such patronage. It would be a useless waste of paper and time to shew that Catholic Bishops thus chosen, are as likely to contribute to the establishment of other churches, by disgracing their own, as if they had been selected precisely for their heterodoxy.

" that the present Castle would nominate Bishops for the R. Church
 " of Ireland with a religious regard for its welfare. Perhaps they
 " cannot, perhaps they dare not do it." Burke's Works, vol. vi.
 p. 290—or that Letter, page 23, published apart by Keating, London 1785, price 6d.

There is still less occasion to take up time in demonstrating, that to interdict the necessary recourse of Bishops elect to the Head of the Church, for that spiritual jurisdiction which precisely confers upon them the *office of Bishops* in their respective dioceses, is to insist upon their ceasing to be Catholics, since this power is declared in the last General Council to be inherent in the Bishop of Rome (1).

It remains for me to shew that our political friends do absolutely require, as the price of their parliamentary services, one, if not both of these unlawful and fatal concessions.—Lord Grenville, in his well known printed letter to Lord Fingal, dated Jan. 29, (written, as he says, “in

* Trid. Sess. vi. c. 1. Sess. xxiv. c. 1. “B. Romanus Pontifex, quam sollicitudinem *universæ ecclesiæ ex muneris sui officio debet* ut lectissimos tantum sibi cardinales asciscat : et bonos maxime et *idoneos Pastores singulis ecclesiis præficiat.*”—Legitima consecratio nulla fit in Ecclesiâ Catholicâ Universâ, nisi ex Apostolicæ Sedis mandato” Pius VI. Episc. Galliæ, April 13, 1792. See the Address of the R. Catholic Prelates below, Append. n. 8.—A friend of the learned gentleman in Ireland, and fellow-labourer with priest Columba, pleads earnestly for *emancipating* the Catholic Church of Ireland, by yielding a *controuling power* over it to persons who *protest and swear against it* as being *superstitious and idolatrous.*—He denies that the Pope ever exercised any legatine authority in Ireland before the twelfth century, and thereby proves himself ignorant of history. He asserts that the Pope’s interference in the nomination of bishops is confined to “a form of recognition,” and thereby shews himself to be ignorant of his religion; and he describes the statute of *Pramunire* and *Provisors*, passed in the reign of Edward III. as an “utter exclusion of the Pope from all matters of ecclesiastical discipline,” and thereby betrays his deficiency in point of legal knowledge. It appears from the existing registers of Canterbury, for example, that every Archbishop of that See, from Simon Islip, who governed it when those statutes were enacted, down to Cranmer inclusively, in the reign of Henry VIII. was *instituted and confirmed by Papal Bulls.* See a Letter to the R. Catholics of Dublin by Thomas Moore, Esq.

“ concurrence with the sentiments of other distinguished
 “ advocates of the Catholic cause,”) says, “ Much must be
 “ done for mutual conciliation, *much for common safety.*—
 “ When this matter was last brought under the consider-
 “ ation of Parliament, I had occasion to dwell with pecu-
 “ liar earnestness on this necessity :—amongst other
 “ measures, I pointed out the proposal of vesting in the
 “ Crown an *effectual negative* on the appointment of your
 “ Bishops.—To the *forms* of these securities I attach
 “ comparatively little importance. I look only to their
 “ *substantial purposes*, the safety of *our establishments*.
 “ —That these objects may be reconciled, so far, at
 “ least, as regards the appointment of your Bishops, is
 “ known with ‘undeniable certainty.’—On the 22d of
 February, when Lord Grey, the other great advocate of
 Catholics in the House of Lords, presented to that house
 the Petition of the English Catholics, with the rider
 clapped upon it by the meeting at the St. Alban’s Tavern,
 called the Second Petition, being in substance what is
 termed *the fifth Resolution*, he is reported, in the Morn-
 ing Chronicle, to have decidedly declared that “ to every
 “ reason, to every sentiment, and to every word of that
 “ letter (Lord Grenville’s to Lord Fingal) he entirely sub-
 “ scribed.” On the 27th of the same month Mr. Grattan
 presented the Irish Petition to the Commons, when he is
 reported to have termed the canonical institution of Catho-
 lic Bishops, which he had heretofore defended : “ The in-
 “ vestiture of a foreign power with the unqualified and ar-
 “ bitrary right of nomination to a portion of our magistra-
 “ cy :” and he gave notice of a motion to be made by him,
 now fixed for the 15th May inst. the second part of which
 implies, that “ there shall be no foreign nomination of
 “ Catholic Bishops in these islands.”—Instead of quot-
 ing more passages from parliamentary speeches, to shew
 the extent of our political friends demands upon us, I
 shall present the Catholics with the outlines of the pro-

posed arrangements, as Columba, who addresses us from the press at Buckingham, represents them. Not that Columba's own ideas are of the least importance; but he is a very likely person to be acquainted with those of other persons who really are of importance in this precise business. The Bishops, then, being found intractable, he recommends that the Catholic body at large should take the government and discipline of the Church into their own hands, and reform the alleged abuses. (And yet, I will be bound for it, he would not advise the people of the United Kingdom to attempt, by their own power, to correct the acknowledged abuses of the civil government.) The nature of this reform is clearly seen in the following propositions: "The election of the Clergy, with the approbation of the *gentry*, and the *confirmation of the civil power*, is the only prudent, the *only Catholic plan*, that, in the present circumstances, can be *adopted by the Irish people*.—Neither the election of Bishops by the Pope, nor their *confirmation by him*, after election, nor their nomination to any vacant see, nor the Pope's consent, nor even knowledge of the appointment, is a necessary requisite to establish the validity of any of these acts." (1) I shall conclude this article with giving the sentiments of one of the warmest advocates for Catholic Emancipation, and most celebrated for the extent of his liberality. The Rev. Sydney Smith, preach-

(1) Columba threatens us with another jumble of history and canon law by way of proving these points, and of shewing, in particular, that the Pope had no authority in these matters, till somehow or other, without any expostulation or any cause, the Irish Bishops surrendered their independency to Cardinal Paparic in 1151! Just as if St. Patrick, St. Lazrean, Gilbert of Limerick, and St. Malachy, were not legates of the Pope, by the confession of Usher himself! See the author's *Letters from Ireland*, third edition, with plates, Letter XVI. Keating and Co.—But even if the Pope should not have had the power in question heretofore, the Council of Trent acknowledges it in him now.

ing the other day at Malton, before the Archbishop of York, thus declared: "The Catholics should be *compelled*, after all civil privileges have been granted them, to transmit their episcopal lists to the crown, and if they continued any one upon them, to whom *pointed objections* were made, a power should be lodged somewhere or other to *send that man out of the country*."——Here is emancipation with a witness!—What: because the Catholics choose some good English or Irish priest to be their Bishop, for his religious zeal, and the Protestant justice of the peace pointedly objects to him on this very account, he is to be transported, without judge or jury, by the alien office, I presume!

But the Veto, we have all been strongly assured, is abandoned, not only by the Catholics, but also by our parliamentary friends; and we are told that the fifth Resolution, which was substituted for it on the 1st of February, and which forms the substance of the above-mentioned Rider or Second Petition, so far from being a pledge on the part of Catholics of their consenting to any Royal Negative, is a "mere compliment," and barely indicates a spirit of conciliation, &c. Such, I know, were the ideas of men equally strict in their orthodoxy with myself, and greatly my superiors in every valuable attainment, except information on this subject, and political experience: and such, I believe, was the opinion of most of the hundred individual Catholics who were *invited* to the St. Alban's Tavern. But what have those noble friends of ours, Lord Grenville and Lord Grey, one of whom wrote the Fifth Resolution in pencil marks, and the other covered those marks with ink, what have they said of the matter since the 1st of February? Lord Grenville, on presenting the Waterford Petition to the Lords on the 8th of March, evidently adverting to these reports, as likewise to the Resolutions of the Episcopal Synod on the 26th of February, and of the General Committee on the 2d of March, said, (if we

may credit the Statesman Newspaper,) that "He wished
 " to take the present opportunity of restating his opinions
 " on this important subject. Indeed it could not be neces-
 " sary to restate them to their Lordships. He had some
 " time back adopted the *most public mode* of declaring
 " and discussing them, and he had now only to say that
 " *whatever circumstances had since intervened had not alter-*
 " *ed his opinions, but had strengthened them.* Much less had
 " he since made any attempt to *change their character or*
 " *complexion*, with a view to square them to any new doc-
 " trine, or *suit them to any new purpose.* In these senti-
 " ments he should steadily persevere, &c."——We clearly
 see that the deceptions which I complain of are as inju-
 rious to the feelings of our political friends, as they are to
 the safety of the Catholic Religion. The Petition of the
 English Catholics, together with the above-mentioned
 Rider or Second Petition, was presented in the House of
 Lords by Earl Grey on the 22d of February, at which
 time his Lordship (according to the British Press) thus
 described the disposition of the English Catholics :
 " While the English Catholics pray for relief, they are
 " willing to accept it accompanied with *such provisions,*
 " *not contrary to their feelings, as you may think necessary*
 " *to the security of your own establishment,* and that an
 " *arrangement on this basis will be thankfully accepted by*
 " *them.* The declaration of what I have stated is *con-*
 " *tained in the Second Petition.*" Does this language
 sound like an abandonment of the Veto, either on the
 part of the Catholics or on that of their parliamentary
 friends? Or rather, are not the former considered by the
 latter as solemnly pledged to the legislature not only to
 submit to it, in whatever shape it may be proposed, but also
 to the several other arrangements, which I have reason to
 know are in the contemplation of our friends, and which
 are not less subversive of our religion, than the unre-
 strained Veto itself would be, provided only they are *con-*
sistent with the feelings of Catholics.

But the Bishops have been promised, in a speech which was made at the St. Alban's Tavern, on the 1st of February, that they shall be consulted on the new arrangements, when they are in a proper state of forwardness.—Yes, they will doubtless be consulted in the manner they always have been consulted since the learned Gentleman has managed the concerns of the Catholics! That is to say, the arrangements themselves will be formed and concluded upon between him and two or three of his confidants, none of them overstocked either with learning or religion, on the one side, and our Parliamentary Friends on the other: and then the Bishops and leading clergy will be called upon (in case any support from the body at large is wanted) *not to deliberate*, but *to approve* of what these lay theologians and canonists have irrevocably settled. I am warranted in forming this judgment by the uniform conduct of the Gentleman on all past occasions, during a course of more than twenty years. For example, were the Bishops consulted about drawing up the condemned oath of 1791, containing a long profession of Catholic faith? No: the first knowledge they acquired of its contents, as they declared in the Encyclical Letter, was from a newspaper, which announced that it was to be proposed in Parliament. Were the Bishops consulted in drawing up the last General Petition, which refers to two important points of Catholic discipline? I can answer, they were not, and this is my own excuse for the egregious faults in language, reasoning, doctrine, and politics, which disgrace it. Were they consulted in the negotiation which ended in the fifth Resolution, or the second Petition? I can again answer in the negative. They were not so much as furnished with copies of this important instrument, either in its first, or its second form: but they were called upon to assent to it at dinners, or tavern meetings, without even the possibility of any common deliberation, or discussion respecting its meaning, its tendency, or its bearings. I am warranted then in my ap-

prehension that, whenever our political friends get into power, the learned Gentleman will treat the Bishops, with respect to the particulars of the new arrangements, just in the same manner as he has treated them on all former occasions. Hence, in spite of all warnings and entreaties, not to precipitate matters, as the term now is, I have resolved, in good time, to put the Catholics on their guard, lest they should be insidiously drawn into that gulph of schism, which they escaped with difficulty in 1791 (1).

(1) It were easy to point out a variety of particulars in which the conduct of the learned Gentleman, twenty years ago, resembles his present conduct. One general character marks them both,—crooked policy and deception. There never can be peace or prosperity to the body, till these are laid aside. I will mention two or three particulars, merely for the sake of cautioning my brethren. The terms of the Protestation and condemned oath were *intentionally made obscure and ambiguous*, when it was demonstrated that every purpose of allegiance and wise policy could have been ten times better answered by plain and honest language. The title of *Protesting Catholic Dissenters* was assumed in order to deceive, at the same time, three different descriptions of Christians. Lord Redesdale, of all the Members of Parliament, was selected to divide the Catholic body, which he laboured with all his might to effect. The Blue Books were written and published by this Gentleman (under the names of respectable personages, who, *I have reason to believe* never read them), and they were proved in the end to contain the grossest and most fatal falsehoods. Mr. Pitt, for example, declared, after reading part of one of them, which the writer placed under his eyes, “that he had been deceived in the great outlines of “the Catholic Bill.” The present writer, then agent to the English Catholic Bishops, was denounced by the Gentleman, in a publication, circulated amongst most of the Members of Parliament, to be the *only Catholic who objected to the condemned oath*. See the Third Blue Book, Append. VII. And to favour this deception on the legislature, a truncated edition of the Protestation, in which the writer’s name is left out, as may still be seen, was printed in a splendid form, and circulated with that publication! Lastly, the Gentleman who deposited in the Museum a spurious copy of the Protestation, different in several particulars from the printed copy, which copy he himself had certified to be conformable to the

The Catholics have generally been made to believe, that the difficulty concerning the Veto is the only obstacle which stands in the way between them and civil emancipation. Here again is an egregious mistake, as they understand the business. I shall soon shew that the obstacle is precisely the same which it ever has been since the days of Elizabeth. But first I must observe, that the proposal of submitting to religious bondage in exchange for civil liberty, sounds very strange from the mouth of a sincere Catholic. Come, says the modern Catholic, to his faithful, disinterested Pastor: Do, my good father, only let me tie you, neck and heels, and place you at the disposal of a Protestant Government, and then I shall stand a chance of getting to be made a parliament man! To this the Pastor may answer, with the strictest truth: we, the Catholic Clergy, have done whatever lay in our power to obtain for you your emancipation (God grant you may make a good use of it), an object in which we have no other concern than as it affects your feelings: we have canvassed for you, we have spent our money, as well as our time, in your service. We have written numerous books and essays to confute the objections, and remove the existing prejudices against your civil claims; and though, when you formed your present board, in the nature of a controversial club, you made it a rule that no clergyman should belong to it, we think it not quite clear that some of the clergy might not know as much about their religion, and might not be able to write as well as some of you. After all we would, in tenderness to you, submit to the proposed fetters, which an *avowed jealousy* has forged for us, to gratify you, if the regard we are bound to have for your eternal welfare, as well as our

original, together with a *long interpolation*, the existence of which no one even suspected, till the writer had occasion to make it public. It is to be observed, that most of the Catholic signatures *presented to Parliament* were made on the faith of the *printed copies*, not from an inspection of the original.

own, would permit us to do so. — This last reflection leads me back to the assertion I just now made ; namely, that the obstacle to your emancipation is exactly the same which it ever has been, viz. a deeply founded, but most unreasonable prejudice against your religion ; the religion of past ages, that to which your jealous masters are indebted for their constitution, for their Christianity, and for their very civilization. I grant, then, that the proposals made in Parliament by our political friends, on the 25th of May, 1808, produced a very great effect upon his Majesty's minister, and, of course, upon the majority of the House of Commons. But what did your political friends propose ? and what was the minister's answer to the proposal ? On both these points the Report published by certain Catholics, and printed by Faulder, is grossly deficient, or rather erroneous. What our advocates then asserted (and, strange to tell, they grounded their assertion on the writer's authority, who at all times would have suffered a thousand deaths rather than have intimated any such thing) was to this effect, that *the Catholic Bishops of Ireland had agreed to give to his Majesty such a controul over the appointment of future Bishops, as would make him as much the head of the Catholic, as he is of the Protestant Church.* To this Mr. Perceval, after some delay, very consequently answered in my hearing (and, if he is asked the question, no doubt he will repeat his answer), " In case these people are disposed to change their religion, the case will be different." — The fact is, there never was any real political ground for the restraints laid upon Catholics, but their denial of the Royal, and their assertion of the Papal supremacy. Those Catholics, therefore, who can bring themselves to think, that Christ's assurances and promises to the Head of the Church were made to his Majesty's progenitors, who at the time when they were made were not only Pagans, but Pagan Deities, I mean Woden and Freiga, have no occasion to enter into new arrangements in order to obtain their civil freedom : they

have only to take the oath made and provided in the Act of Supremacy, and they will emancipate themselves, without giving any trouble to their friends whatsoever; but those other Catholics who are determined to continue steadfast in the faith of their forefathers, if they wish to get free from legal restraints, must be content to make use of the means for this purpose which they made use of: they must demonstrate, that which is, in fact, matter of demonstration, that the objections of their opponents arise from misinformation, and that the religion of the Alfreds and the Edwards is not only compatible with, but is the purest source of civil duty and social virtue.

To make an end of my arguments with Catholics: they have been led to believe, by false and fraudulent articles foisted into the newspapers, that the Catholic Bishops of Ireland, in their late Synod held from the 22d to the 26th of February, agreed with and approved of the Fifth Resolution of certain English Catholics, respecting new and undefined arrangements for the security of the established Church. To support this fraud, a passage from the 16th Article of their Address, expressive of nothing more than what every good Catholic must avow, namely, that "no spirit of conciliation has been ever wanting, on
 " their part, and that they seek for nothing beyond the
 " mere integrity and safety of the R. Catholic religion, in
 " its faith, communion, essential discipline, subordination
 " and moral code;" this passage, I say, has been garbled out of its context, and placed in parallel with the fifth Resolution of the Tavern Meeting, as expressing the same meaning, whereas the Prelates in fact reject the fifth Resolution. It is my duty, in justice to the Irish Catholic Prelates, to protest against and refute the misrepresentation, in doing which I should be glad to lay before the English Catholics a lengthened correspondence which has been carried on between certain persons on this side of the water, in their name, and certain Catholic Bishops of Ireland. But a regard for those who have shewn little re-

gard for me, induces me, in a great measure, to suppress it.

—That personage then who now is no where seen or heard in the English Catholic body, but every where felt, who winds his way, directly or indirectly, into all their councils and consistories at home and abroad, and who, more or less, influences all their proceedings, has long been attempting to acquire the same power in Ireland. With this view, the winter before last, he printed a pamphlet in Dublin which he also put into the newspapers. In this he affected a great detestation of the Veto, and censured the writer for the part which he had acted concerning it. Since that time he has caused numerous letters to be written to the Secretary of the Irish Committee, and one in particular, dated Jan. 26, 1810, in the name of the Board of the Catholics of Great Britain, “repeating the
“different assurances which had already been made that
“the wish of the English Catholics is and always will be
“to *adopt no measure*, but what may be considered as
“auxiliary to the more effectual exertions of the Catholics
“of Ireland.—The same letter gives notice of the intended Meeting of the English Catholics on the 1st of February, assigning as a reason for deferring the meeting, that “the deputies with the several petitions from Ireland
“might then be expected in London, as the English
“Catholics were particularly anxious to obtain the most
“correct information, in order to *regulate their conduct*
“by that of the Catholics of Ireland, as in England the
“Catholics are not the People.” This letter had the intended effect of causing the Bishops to lay aside their determination of holding a Synod, and the Committee theirs of holding a General Meeting, under the idea that some arrangements, in the nature of a Veto, were to be brought forward at the St. Alban’s Tavern. The writer will say nothing further concerning this meeting, than that it was held on the appointed day, and that nothing was said, or permitted to be said in it, respecting the

Irish Catholics, and that, in short, the fifth Resolution was signed by most of the company under an idea that the Irish would be led by this example to do the same. In the course of eight days, that is to say, in as short a time as the Mail Coach could convey letters to and from Dublin, it was ascertained that this idle project had completely failed. Nothing was heard, amongst both the clergy and laity of Ireland, but complaints of deception and bad faith, practised upon them. To be brief; the Bishops resumed their determination of meeting in Synod; the Committee theirs of holding an Assembly. The Synod was accordingly held at Dublin between the 22d and 26th days of February inclusively, when after "invoking the name of Christ, and placing God before their eyes," the assembled Prelates unanimously voted those resolutions, so instructive and so edifying, which will form one of the brightest pages in the history of the 19th century(1), respecting the whole matter now under consideration. In their 16th Resolution the Prelates, adverting to the 5th Resolution of the St. Alban's Tavern, which had been sent and recommended to them to be approved of and adopted, very wisely determined as follows: "With respect to arrangements regarding our Church, and said to be intended for accompanying a proposal of the Emancipation of Irish R. Catholics, prudence and a regard for our duty forbid us to pronounce a judgment, as those rumored arrangements have never been ascertained to us through any channel." They then "avow a spirit of conciliation, in the terms set down above," accompanied with a declaration of their readiness to "bear testimony with their lives if necessary," not only to "the faith and essential discipline," but also to "the *subordination* and moral code of the Catholic religion:" after which they pass on to a 17th Resolution, approving of the conduct of their agent, the writer of this, and thanking

(1) See Appendix.

him in the most honourable terms for opposing what they call "a vague indefinite declaration pledging Catholics to an eventual acquiescence in arrangements possibly prejudicial to the integrity and safety of our Church discipline;" in other words, for opposing the fifth Resolution. We may well conceive the mortification of the learned gentleman at the sight of this last resolution of a whole Catholic Hierarchy, which resolution the writer took care to transmit to a respectable friend and agent of the gentleman's on the 14th of March. It is known to have been duly received and considered as genuine, since copies of it were distributed as genuine to some of his friends. Nevertheless the learned gentleman affected to consider it as spurious, in order to have an opportunity of inveighing against it as "a libel and a slander," and of ridiculing it as an "awkward attempt of malice." This was done in letters addressed to an Irish Catholic Metropolitan and another Bishop, which for the very disrespectful and sarcastic style of them, could only have been written by the author of the Blue Books. The professed object of these letters was to frighten the Irish Prelates into a disavowal of their Vote of Thanks, and even of the writer's agency. The letter to the Metropolitan, dated March 17, was written in the name of the Catholic Board, the chief members of which, it is proved from dates and other circumstances, could have known nothing of the business, and it concludes with a threat that, till the vote is disavowed, the agent of the Irish Prelates would not be consulted on the concerns of the *Catholics of England*. To this blustering letter the metropolitan in question answered, March 26th, that "Dr. M. had been appointed agent of the Irish Prelacy, and was considered as such at their General Meeting when they voted him their Thanks in the terms transcribed. He had no specific instructions from them concerning the Veto, or any other business: nevertheless they deemed him fully

“ authorized to appear as their agent at the General Meeting of the English Catholics on the 1st of February, and conceived that he had acted in that capacity by objecting to and opposing the Fifth Resolution of the assembly, which appeared to them and to the Irish Catholics in general, to imply a pledge to sanction future arrangements for the maintenance of the Protestant Religion, which might eventually prove inconsistent with the integrity and safety of the Catholic faith and discipline.”

Thus baffled in all his attempts, nothing remained for the learned gentleman but to publish in certain newspapers a garbled passage from the concluding part of the Prelates Resolutions, in order to mislead Catholics into a belief that they approved of the Fifth Resolution, directly contrary to their acts and to their meaning, and at the same time to lay an embargo on the presses of those newspapers in order to prevent the writer's undeceiving Catholics, by printing the whole text. This he has experienced to be actually the case.

It is to hold up a mirror to my Catholic brethren for future precautions that I have thus unwillingly touched upon the past errors of their agent, not from resentment against him, which, thank God, I do not feel. The management of our political concerns naturally belongs to the leading persons among our laity: but then it is incumbent upon them to take effectual care that these shall never, in future, be disgraced by crooked policy and deception of any kind, since these can lead to nothing else but misunderstandings, with our political friends, reproaches, dissensions, disappointment, heterodoxy and sin.—The direction of our ecclesiastical affairs belongs by an indefeasible divine right, to those “ *Bishops, whom the Holy Ghost hath placed to rule the Church of God which he hath purchased with his own blood.*” (1) Conformably with this sacred oracle, the Hierarchy of Ireland in

(1) Acts xx. 28. Catholic Version.

their late Synod, have resolved, "that it appertains to the
 "order, charge, and spiritual authority of Bishops in the
 "Catholic Church, and is inseparable from their mission
 "to propose, entertain, and judge without any lay in-
 "tervention, on points of christian faith and general
 "discipline."(1) This is acknowledged by all real Ca-
 tholics: but then, my brethren, if you do not practice a
 deception on your souls, which you would blush to prac-
 tice in consulting with your physicians and lawyers on the
 concerns of your health and fortune, you will give your
 Prelates proper time (2) and documents to consult with
 their clergy and with one another on all such matters, and
 you will shudder at the idea of deceiving them, or in-
 fluencing their acts or opinions in any respect whatsoever.

§ III.

In addressing myself to our advocates in the senate of
 the nation, particularly to those amongst them whose
 names I shall have occasion to mention, I cannot fail of
 expressing my veneration for their distinguished talents,
 patriotism, and private virtues; and, at the same time,
 my gratitude for their repeated generous exertions in the
 service of Catholics, and their civilities to myself. No-
 thing but that quick sensibility which a Christian and a
 Pastor must feel, when the religion in which all his hopes
 in this world and the next centre, appears to be in danger
 of a mortal wound, could induce me to oppose myself to
 their plans; plans which have been taken up by them, I
 am persuaded, with the purest views of serving their coun-

(1) Appendix.

(2) The General Committee of Dublin suspended their Meeting
 during several days, in order to afford the Bishops leisure to consult
 about the Fifth Resolution, as a religious concern.

try. They are, however, much too generous “to reproach us for our solicitude in guarding those sacred things, for which we are bound to bear testimony with our lives (1).”—As two different plans of arrangement for our church discipline have been proposed, one by Lord Grenville for attributing to the crown a right of interference in the election of our Bishops, the other by Mr. Grattan for barely depriving the Pope of his right in this business, I shall discuss them separately.

In the first place, I wish to ask the friends of Lord Grenville, upon what ground of justice or reason they fancy the crown has a right to interfere in the appointment of our Bishops. Speaking to them as Protestants, I say you do not acknowledge the existence of Catholic Bishops, neither in any of your public acts, nor even, by courtesy, in the intercourse of private life. In fact, what is a Bishop? A Bishop with you is a clergyman, enjoying by royal favour and holding from the state an ample revenue, a noble palace, a seat and voice in the great council of the nation. Over all these things I grant that you, as legislators, have a right of controul. But what is a Catholic Bishop? He is a clergyman who exclusively administers two sacraments, Confirmation and Holy Orders, neither of which you acknowledge to be sacraments; who gives Catholics leave to eat meat on days of abstinence, which you are persuaded they may lawfully do without his leave; who authorizes other clergymen to forgive the sins of the truly contrite, which you maintain he has no power to do. Now if these are all ideal things, mere phantoms of the imagination, what have you to do with them, to interfere in the direction of them, any more than you have to interfere with the election of the queen of the fairies, or with the hierarchies of the sylphs and gnomes?—You will perhaps say,—We are now disposed to acknowledge your Bishoprics, and even to endow them.—The pro-

(1) Address of the Prelates. See Appendix.

posal of endowment you see the Catholic Bishops have very wisely declined, because it is plain this is offered for no other purpose, than to get an effectual hold on the sees themselves. But supposing the offer had been accepted of, in what manner would you acknowledge Catholic Bishops? Would you allow his Grace, Dr. Stuart, and my venerable friend Dr. O'R——y, to be both Archbishops of Armagh? I am persuaded your liberality does not go that length. Perhaps, then, you would allow the latter to be Metropolitan of Drogheda, or of some other town or village in the North of Ireland. But it is necessary you should be informed, that upon Catholic principles it is not in Dr. O'R——'s power, aided by all the Catholic Prelacy of Ireland, to make the least change in the nature, extent, or title of his spiritual claims.

But let Catholic Bishops be whatever they may, you will urge, it is certain that they possess great power and influence in Ireland, and we shall never think that island safe till we have destroyed these, or brought them under our controul.—Power they have none, because that must come from you : influence they have, because that consists in the opinion of the people : and never were there men better deserving of public esteem than they. —If you think it just and necessary to destroy or shackle all influence, why then attack that of the Kirk of Scotland and of the English Dissenters ; an influence which, in the middle of the 17th century, was not very usefully employed. But as no influence is so powerful in this world as that arising from wealth and rank, make an arrangement for the exclusion of all disaffected or profligate heirs from succeeding to the riches and rank of their fathers, and for enabling the crown to bestow these on the most deserving persons of their respective families. You want to shackle the influence of our clergy, which if you but touch you destroy. Yet this is, and has been proved to be, your best security for the allegiance and peace of

your Irish subjects. The exertions of the Catholic Bishops and Clergy in this cause, have sometimes been carried to an excess. In the unhappy rebellion of 1798, an episcopal friend of mine prevailed upon a large body of his people, who were drawn up in array, to throw down their arms and submit to government; when instantly a perfidious savage, of no mean name, in the service of government, dashed in amongst them with a troop of horse, and cut them down right and left. I wish to give no offence; but pray, what description of clergy used their influence to quell the riots of 1780, or to stop the extermination of Catholics in Armagh in 1795, which latter violence, unrepressed by government, was the signal of all the mischief that afterwards happened! — Let me here say a word *out of my proper province*. You complain that there is yet in the kingdom a certain influence, which however small, is independent of the crown, and you complain, that there are still men who will not take the public money as the price of their independence. I thought that you supporters of the revolution and admirers of a nicely poised constitution did not wish that all the influence in the country whatsoever should centre in the crown; and I understand that some years ago you voted that *the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished*. But as I intimated, I know nothing about these things: all that I know is, that from the increase of our taxes, which are five times as great as they then were, the influence of the crown must be five times as great as it was when Mr. Burke carried this memorable resolution.

You admit, after all, that our “present Bishops are loyal:” but you say: “some men are not unreasonably alarmed at the *possibility* of their becoming otherwise(1).” In answer to this pretence, permit me to say, that just princes bind those subjects whom they know to be guilty; tyrannical princes those whom they suspect to be guilty; but no tyrant whom I have yet heard of, has chained those

(1) Letter to the Earl of Fingal.

subjects whom he acknowledges to be innocent, merely because "there is a possibility of their becoming other-wise." Far be it from me to claim the quality of impeccability in favour of those exemplary subjects, the Catholic Bishops of Ireland; but why they should be more subject to fail in their duty of loyalty than other descriptions of subjects I cannot conceive. We have heretofore had our Cranmers, Riddleys, Poynets,⁽¹⁾ Atterburys, Hugh Peters's, and our Long Parliament. Of late years, all Europe has resounded with complaints against the treason of noblemen, generals, and princes, whilst generous and firm loyalty has shone forth amongst no description of men more conspicuously than amongst the Catholic Bishops and Clergy. Indeed, no other clerical blood has been shed in this cause but theirs. — Why should you, then, suppose that the Irish Catholic Bishops, of all your subjects, are to become traitors? If, indeed, you melt down their rigid virtue, and change them from laborious and self-denying Pastors into supple and interested courtiers, I will not answer for their loyalty in any such time of danger as that appeared to be when the loyalty of my friend Dr. M——n was so conspicuous⁽²⁾, nor indeed for any longer time than it may be their interest to be loyal: but as things are, their independency, the source of their civil and Christian virtues, is, as far as their influence extends, the best security for the loyalty of their island. You allow the present Bishops to be loyal, and you also know that they have entered into a solemn pledge to elect "none but men of irreproachable loyalty and peaceable conduct for vacant sees." If, then, the loyalty of future Bishops is, as you profess, the object you have in view, evidently the best thing you can do, is to leave them unmolested in possession of their right of determining the elections, be-

(1) See Letters to a Prebendary.

(2) When Hoche's fleet appeared off Bantry Bay.

cause they must know the character and dispositions of their clergy infinitely better than you can know them. A remarkable circumstance, and quite apposite to my present argument, is this : there has been but one Catholic Bishop since the relaxation of the penal laws thirty years ago, whose loyalty has been so much as called in question, and this was the only Bishop appointed through ministerial influence, namely, through that of the late Duke of Portland, contrary to the opinion of most of the other Catholic Bishops.

Thus much, you add, "is known with undeniable certainty, that the proposed arrangements, as far at least as regards the appointment of Bishops, may be reconciled with the strictest adherence to the faith and discipline of Catholics, from their acquiescence in similar arrangements under other governments (1)."—Let the authentic documents of such arrangements between a competent ecclesiastical Catholic power and a sovereign or state of another communion be produced, if any such exist : I know they cannot be produced.—No doubt such ecclesiastical power will always wish, and contrive as much as possible, that Catholic Bishops shall be faithful to and enjoy the confidence of the state under which they live, though this should be an uncatholic one, especially where they enjoy wealth and power, as in Silesia and Russian Poland ; but it never can enter into any concordatum or other engagement with an uncatholic government for admitting its controuling power over spiritual jurisdiction. When Frederic of Prussia became master of Silesia, he applied to Pope Benedict XIV. for a concordatum of this nature, who answered him, that "the history of ages did not furnish an instance of the nature, and that his name would become infamous were he to agree to the proposal." Supposing, however, that these and other such fetters had been imposed upon our Prelacy in despo-

(1) Letter to the Earl of Fingal.

tic countries, whether Catholic or Protestant, is this a reason why English and Irish Catholics, who have a right to the privileges of MAGNA CHARTA, where these have not been taken from them, should wear them? Now the first article of Magna Charta says, "the election of Bishops shall be free." This is a sufficient answer on the subject of other vexatious and unnecessary restraints on the Catholic Clergy, which I have reason to believe are in the contemplation of our political friends, under the pretext that such restrictions existed heretofore in France and Austria. God forbid that I should ever subscribe to the irreligious placards, for example, of an Emperor Joseph II. This also is a sufficient answer to the instances of irreligious tyranny cited by Columba. Supposing, for example, a profligate Theodora tears a holy Pope Silverius from his see, and places her favourite Vigilius in his place, whom the Church, after the martyrdom of the former, submits to, by an *ex post facto* agreement, is this a proof that Empresses may make Popes at their pleasure. As well may we say that the army has a right to choose the sovereign of England, because an army raised Oliver Cromwell to the supreme power, whom the nation quietly submitted to till his death (1).

(1) The supposition contained in the Letter to the Earl of Fingal, that the proposed arrangements are reconcileable with the strictest adherence to Catholic tenets and discipline, is grounded, not only on the presumed practice of other countries, but also on the supposed acknowledgment of the Irish Catholic Bishops, and of the present writer, to both which points the latter has spoken. It is grounded, likewise on the declarations of certain other Catholics, probably ill-instructed, and not very devout lay Catholics. I mention this, in order to correct an important error, into which the Noble Writer of that Letter and the Rt. Hon. Mr. Grattan have both fallen in consequence of such information, in their ever-memorable speeches in Parliament on the Catholic Question two years ago. Heavens defend me from being considered as approving of such doctrine, merely in consequence of my offering general thanks to the eloquent speak-

'Till the 27th of February, I entertained hopes that the peace and tranquillity of Ireland, and of the Catholic body in these islands, might still be maintained. My hopes, under God, rested on the capacious mind, the commanding eloquence, and above all, on the benevolent heart of Mr. Grattan. But when I discovered from the newspaper reports, that this our long-tried friend had, in a great degree, retracted what he had so often asserted in answer to the pretended state danger from our essential union with our Spiritual Head, and that he had thereby afforded a decided triumph to his political antagonists; when I learnt that, to support his new tenets, he had been induced to invent invidious names in the way of alarming Parliament and the Public against Catholic Bishops, I own I began to despair of the continuance of those blessings. Mr. Grattan knows well the power which *names* have over weak minds in the highest as well as the lowest orders of mankind, and he has not to learn how many lives have been immolated to that wicked cry of *Aristocrat*.

To proceed now to argument : Mr. Grattan is said to

ers!—Lord Grenville said : “ In all matters of civil government, even of that *mixed nature* in which ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction are combined, they (the Catholics) submit themselves, without reserve, to the supreme authority of the King in this Parliament.” Debates on Cath. Quest. 1808, p. 185.” Mr. Grattan said much the same thing, and instanced the case of matrimony, p. 18, to which Lord G. is supposed to have also referred.—What : when a married couple being tired of each other, and having committed crimes, by connivance, in a sort of open way, procure an act of parliament, authorizing them to enter into fresh matrimonial engagements, does the Catholic Church hold such marriages to be conscientious?—No : she anathematizes them. Trid. Sess. xxiv. can. 7.—Still our legislature has no reason to reproach us. We shew due civil respect to these legal spouses, and we hold that their offspring ought to inherit ; but we do not admit the former to our sacraments, nor do we lay the hands of ordination on the latter.

have called the Catholic Bishops, "a portion of our magistracy," and to have represented "a foreign power" as being possessed of an arbitrary power to bestow the "investiture of this magistracy (1)." Let me ask the friends of that Right Hon. Gentleman, how it comes that he never made this discovery before, neither during the years of his advocating the Catholic cause in the Irish Parliament, nor in the years 1805 and 1808, when he so splendidly advocated it in the United Parliament? On the latter occasion alluded to, he said very truly "the Catholics themselves, (meaning the Prelates and the Clergy) nominate the Bishop; the Pope only gives him a spiritual capacity (2)." Supposing I were to call you, because you happen to be a magistrate, "a portion of our episcopacy," in the hearing of a Catholic mob in the county of Kerry, and then were to appeal to them, whether or no it is right that Lord Redesdale, or any other Protestant Chancellor, should possess an uncontrouled and arbitrary power of making and unmaking a Catholic Bishop? If your hitherto unheard-of description of Catholic Bishops is a just one, then your present project is at once defeated (3). You are substituting sedition and rebellion for treason; inasmuch as the law and constitution require, not only that no foreign power shall constitute magistrates within this realm, but also that his Majesty alone, with the help of his ministers, should constitute them. According to the argument here stated, the crown ought directly to appoint the Pastors of all other religionists whomsoever, since all of them are evidently

(1) Morn. Chron.

(2) Debates, p. 18.

(3) This term, however absurd, has already been adopted by one of our theological lawyers, not for the purpose of exalting, but of depressing the Catholic Prelacy. See printed Letter of Thomas Moore, Esq.

just as much magistrates as Catholic Bishops and Priests are. I must add, that several of these denominations, no less than Catholics, profess to be governed by Bishops ; as for example, the Wesleyan Methodists, the Lutherans, and the Moravians ; and that some of these Bishops reside and exercise their jurisdiction in foreign countries, under the dominion or controul of your public enemies. The Lutherans, some of whom in this kingdom stand high indeed, have their Bishop in the dominions of Jerome Bonaparte. The Moravians, who possess establishments at Fairfield, near Manchester, at Dunkensfield, and in many other parts of England, have numerous Bishops who are directly appointed by certain Metropolitans resident at Hernhuth in Moravia, now under the controul of Napoleon. No doubt you will include all these in your Bill. The Jews dispersed throughout the world are not only of one and the same religion, but also of one and the same blood. To say nothing of their priesthood, they hold themselves in daily expectation of a Messiah, who is to subjugate us all ; and they have been so much caressed and honoured by Napoleon, that they have deliberated whether or no they ought not to acknowledge him in this capacity. I trust you will make a law that no Messiah shall be acknowledged but one who is born and resides in England. Next, what will you do at Malta, in Sicily, in Portugal, and in such other Catholic countries as the fortune of war may put into your power ? Will you add to their present discontents on the score of your religious intolerance, I allude now particularly to Sicily (1), by insisting that they shall break that spiritual tie which connects them with the Head and Members of the Catholic Church, and thus render your cause absolutely desperate ?

(1) The writer has authentic documents in his possession respecting the religious intolerance of our Commanders in that island.

You say "the Pope is, or will be a French subject (1)." The actual Pope is a prisoner, after having lost the finest principality in Europe, because, from a motive of justice, he would not do that which all your allies, to whom you have paid so many millions of money, have done in succession; because he would not declare against England. That the next Pope will be a Frenchman it is idle to conjecture: very possibly precautions have been taken to prevent it: but supposing this should be the case, would it be a new case? The Bishop of Rome, whether Frenchman or Englishman, or Italian, or German, has, in all past ages, given investiture to the Metropolitans at least of the Latin Church, and during many centuries to all Catholic Bishops without exception. In the mean time Europe has been divided in its politics and its interests, and the bloody trade of war has gone on without interruption in one part or another of it; yet never has this objection of our worthy friend occurred to any one of the contending princes; nor did indeed they find the least occasion for making it. To mention one or two instances instead of a thousand: Adrian VI. was the friend and tutor of Charles V. but did Francis I. who at the time of Adrian's promotion to the Popedom was at war with this Emperor, object to Adrian's dispensing spiritual faculties to the Bishops of France? Again, during the wars which our victorious Edward III. carried on against two successive Kings of France, the contemporary Popes were not only natives of that country, but kept their residence at Avignon: but did he, or any of his predecessors or successors down to Henry VIII. refuse their Bishops permission to receive the necessary investiture of their spiritual powers from these Popes on any such account? or, did any of them experience the least practical inconvenience from neglecting to do so?

(1) Mr. G——'s Speech, Morn. Chron.

“What is this cause of jealousy,” exclaimed Mr. Grattan, on the evening of May 25, 1808, “In what does it consist? “Why in this—the Pope! — And what is the Pope? “Why the Catholics have proved to you that the Pope is “nothing more than a name——a spiritual power.”(1)—— In May 1805, this gentleman termed the Pope: “a sort “of President, a chair in whose name the business of the “Catholic Church is conducted; *for whom* no Catholic “would fight, and *against whom* the Irish Catholic would “fight, if he came into this country at the head of an invading army: they have said so.”(2) Yes, they have sworn it, and the English Catholics exemplified this duty at the period of the Spanish Armada.(3) You say you believe we respect the obligation of an oath; look then at our oaths (to which, one after another, you have obliged us to swear; not that the last contained an atom more of allegiance than the first, but every fresh oath, like your present arrangements, was a fresh tub thrown out to the monster of vulgar prejudice), look, I say, to our oaths, in these you will find that we have devoted, (calling upon the eternal God to witness the solemn engagements,) our *property*, our *civil rights*, and our *persons* to our King and country.(4) We support you with our taxes, our voluntary contributions, our personal services, our lives, our writings, our preaching and our prayers: What now is left for the Pope, (if Cardinal Fesch, or even Napoleon himself were Pope,) except a certain bond of union in faith and spiritual faculties, which, in your eyes, are a phantom—a mere nothing—but which to us appears in-

(1) Debates, p. 16.

(2) See Stockdale's Report, p. 245. It is to be observed that Mr. G—, in the passage which follows, admits the Pope to be then a captive in the hands of Napoleon, and excuses the act of coronation on this ground.

(3) See Letters to a Prebendary, 4th edition, Letter vii.

(4) 31 and 33 Geo. III.

dispensably necessary, in order to keep up that communion which we believe ourselves to hold with all Catholics throughout the world? We shall equally support you, as we are bound by our oath to do, if the Pope himself were to invade you under any pretence whatsoever. If all this will not satisfy you, then, I say, you are more jealous than Pilate himself. Our Saviour had called himself a king, which alarmed Pilate; but as soon as he declared that his *kingdom was not of this world*; (his power being precisely that spiritual power which the Catholic Church now claims), Pilate was satisfied, and he told the Jews that he could find no cause of death in the divine captive (1). I will suppose you had lived in this country at the time of Christ, at which period, if I mistake not, our good British King Cunobelinus, whom Shakespear calls Cymbaline, governed it with independent power, and that Christ had been pleased to send his apostle, Jude, as some writers say he did, or one of his other disciples to preach the gospel and administer the sacraments in Britain, would you have rejected the blessed messenger of salvation under a pretence that Christ was a foreigner, a subject of the Roman empire, which was then planning the subjugation of your native country? I think you would not have been so irreligiously bigotted: no, you would have said, what good Catholics in England and Ireland now say: My Saviour has assured me that *his kingdom is not of this world*. He himself has commanded me to give to *Cæsar what belongs to Cæsar, and to God what belongs to God* (2). I can then serve my king and country with my property and my life, and yet believe in that faith and continue a sheep of that *one-fold* which Christ has gathered together *under one shepherd* (3).

In case you should remain still immoveable, you have nothing more to do than to renew Henry's and Elizabeth's sanguinary acts of supremacy. Hitherto, in the different acts you have passed for the relief of English and Irish

(1) John xviii. 36.—(2) Matt. xxii. 21.—(3) John x. 16.

Catholics, during his present Majesty's reign, you have been satisfied with obliging us to abjure all "*temporal* or "*civil* jurisdiction, power, superiority or pre-eminence, "directly or indirectly, within this realm,"(1) leaving us to retain our belief in a certain *spiritual* and *ecclesiastical* jurisdiction in the Pope and General Councils, which belief you deemed reconcilable with civil allegiance. But now you require us, in certain circumstances, to abjure the latter also. It is much better then to renew and enforce those old and tried acts, in opposition to which so many hundreds of loyal Catholic subjects lost their lives, as many thousands of the same description are willing to lose their lives now, than to attempt any half measures either of legislation or of ecclesiastical politics.

Catholicity is not a religion of late date, nor of confined extent. It is the religion of your apostles, the missionaries who converted and civilized you, of the framers of your constitution, and of the founders of your families, good and loyal men, I trust; and however assaulted and oppressed in every quarter, at the present day it is still the religion, one and the same, of the great body of Christians throughout the world. The pretext then of benefiting any one portion of it by dividing it from its head or from its other members is preposterous in the extreme. It is robbing them of the kernel and giving them the shell. Be assured that it is for those pastors exclusively to judge of its faith and discipline with whom Christ has deposited his divine authority agreeably to the decision of the late Dublin Synod. All the claims of others, whether Catholics or not Catholics, to judge and still more to act in these matters, however high, powerful or numerous they may be, are vain and schismatical. They may as well pretend to pluck a beam from the sun as to touch a fibre of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. It was such an attempt of the French National Assembly to make by its own incompetent lay

(1) 31. 33 Geo. III.

power certain changes in catholic discipline, (which, after all, were feasible, and which have in a great measure since been made, namely, by a due spiritual power) that was gloriously resisted by the orthodox clergy of France at the expense of their fortunes, their country, and their lives. Similar attempts, though in a less violent degree, made for the avowed purpose of conciliation, tarnished the reputation of the great Constantine and the great Justinian, and increased the dissensions they were intended to heal. Such also was the fate of the Emperor Zeno's Henoticon, of the Ecthesis of Heraclius, and of the Typus of Constans.——I shall conclude with the answer of a great man to certain insidious proposals for altering the religious society over which he presided *Sint ut sunt, aut non sint.*

POSTSCRIPT.

Extract of a Letter from an Irish Catholic Bishop to an official Letter from a Catholic in England.

Dear Sir,

“At our last Synod, before we came to a final decision
 “on the subject of our meeting; a variety of documents
 “were laid before us. Your letter to Dr. ———, Lord
 “Grenville's letter to Lord Fingal, and the Fifth Resolution,
 “were particularly considered, and after the most
 “mature consideration, the Prelates were unanimous in
 “the opinion that the fifth Resolution, penned by Lords
 “Grenville and Grey in such vague and general terms,
 “suitable to present circumstances, would in any future
 “arrangement be construed by them favourable to their
 “*effective Veto*, which they deem necessary for the security
 “of the existing establishments, and the *sine qua non*
 “of C. Emancipation. This unanimous opinion appears

“to be well founded and confirmed by the declaration
 “made by one of the Lords who penned that resolution.
 “——However unexceptionable therefore the abstract
 “proposition may be, coupled with a recollection of past
 “occurrences and the present temper of our rulers, it ap-
 “peared liable to unanswerable objections: nor can our
 “Prelates, under this conviction deem themselves charge-
 “able with having *entirely lost all recollection of their*
 “*jurisdiction and dignity*, in applauding the conduct of
 “Dr. Milner and applying to it the epithet of *Apostolical*,
 “for having refused to concur in such a measure, per-
 “suaded that nothing could engage him to stand up alone
 “against the opinion of the great and respectable body
 “who signed it, but the fullest conviction that it would
 “eventually tend, as they also thought, to the prejudice
 “of our holy religion. I wish there were sufficient
 “grounds to suppose the question of the *Veto* to be put to
 “rest for ever. It is not laying aside the *word Veto*, but
 “abandoning the object meant by it that can tranquillize
 “the public mind. The R. Catholics of Ireland are,
 “however, determined to drag for ever their degrading
 “chains, nay, to subject themselves to the threatened re-
 “vival of the penal laws, rather than give men, irreconcil-
 “ably hostile to their religion, any influence or controul in
 “the affairs of their church.--May God, in his mercy, inspire
 “our rulers with wisdom to direct the temporal concerns
 “of the state at this most alarming and critical juncture,
 “and to leave their R. Catholic subjects the regulation
 “of their own spiritual concerns.”

25th April, 1810.

A pamphlet called *Thoughts on the VETO*, by Her-
 vey M. Morres, Esq. has lately appeared in Dublin. On
 the first perusal of it the writer really conceived it to be
 the work of some pupil of Dr. Ledwich, or some other
 half-learned Protestant dabbler in Church history; so

strong are the writers assertions, so weak are his proofs, so gross are his falsehoods, so disingenuous his misrepresentations, and above all, so acrimonious is his spirit against the chief Pastor and the other Pastors, as likewise against the ordinances and institutions of the Catholic Church. On reading the book a second time, the writer found to his astonishment, that the author of it professes to be himself a *Catholic*.—It is too plain then, that there are in Ireland, no less than in England, men who are of the *catholic party*, without being of the *catholic religion*, latitudinarian Catholics, the dead weight and calamity of their Church. It is a great question whether several of those lay theologians and canonists, on both sides of the water, who shew themselves most forward in dictating new codes of ecclesiastical discipline to their Pastors, ever learnt the catholic catechism: if they have learnt it, so much the worse for them; as in this case it will be impossible to excuse them from the guilt of downright schism.



APPENDIX.

*At a Meeting of the R. CATHOLIC PRELATES,
assembled in Dublin on the 24th inst. the following
Resolutions were unanimously adopted :*

1. RESOLVED, **T**HAT it is the undoubted and exclusive right of Roman Catholic Bishops to discuss all matters appertaining to the doctrines and discipline of the Roman Catholic Church.

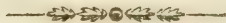
2. RESOLVED, That we do hereby confirm and declare our unaltered adherence to the Resolutions unanimously entered into at our last General Meeting, on the 14th September, 1808.

3. RESOLVED, That we are convinced that the Oath of Allegiance framed and proposed by the Legislature itself, and taken by us, is not only adequate security for our loyalty, but that we know of no stronger pledge that we can possibly give.

4. RESOLVED, That having disclaimed upon oath all right in the Pope, or any Foreign Potentate, to interfere in the Temporal Concerns of the Kingdom, an adherence to the practice observed in the appointment of Irish Roman Catholic Prelates cannot tend to produce an undue or mischievous exercise of any foreign influence whatsoever.

5. **RESOLVED**, That we neither seek nor desire any other earthly consideration for our Spiritual Ministry to our respective flocks, save what they may, from a sense of religion and duty, voluntarily afford us.

6. **RRSOLVED**, That an Address, explanatory of these our sentiments, be prepared, and directed to the Roman Catholic Clergy and Laity of Ireland, and conveying such further instructions as existing circumstances may seem to require.



*The ADDRESS to the CLERGY and LAITY of the
Roman Catholic Churches in Ireland, &c. &c.*



Reverend Brothers, beloved Children, Peace be to you!

INASMUCH as we were called upon, by an alarm of danger to religion, to speak our common sentiment at a former time, and accordingly did, on the 14th day of September, 1808, enter into and publish certain **RESOLUTIONS**, then judged necessary : and whereas the danger we then hoped to avert, and the agitation which we laboured to quiet, have been renewed, and principles, disallowed by the Roman Catholic Church, are assiduously disseminated amongst the faithful, for an avowed purpose of innovation : moreover, whereas, amongst other vain things, it is pretended that the doctrines of their Clergy, that is to say, the avowed doctrines of the R. C. Churches in Ireland, form the

chief obstacle to the immediate attainment, by Irish Catholic people, of all the advantages of the constitution ; (an argument by which, if even true, our forefathers would not have been tempted to waver ; for they knew that their Faith, if true, was also immortal, and that their perseverance in that Faith, enlivened by Charity, would conduct them to a glorious and everlasting inheritance :) And, whereas it is most necessary to admonish our flocks, lest that Providence, which has carried onward their paternal Faith, through meritorious constancy, to the verge of freedom, henceforth abandon us, in the last moment of temptation, in punishment of yielding to unbelief and contradiction, now that we are relieved, by the mercy of law, from positive suffering :

Invoking the name of Christ, and having only God before our eyes, we have discussed and considered several points of R. Catholic Religion and Doctrine, comprised in these following Resolutions :

1. RESOLVED, That it appertains to the order, charge, and spiritual authority of Bishops in the Catholic Church, and is inseparable from their mission, to propose, entertain, and judge, without any lay intervention, on points of Christian Faith and of general discipline, whereby the Universal Church is connected into one mind and one body, as the body of Christ.

2. RESOLVED, That we do hereby confirm and declare our unaltered adherence to the Resolutions unanimously entered into at our last General Meeting, on the 14th of September, 1808 *.

* RESOLVED, That it is the decided opinion of the Roman Catholic Prelates of Ireland, here assembled, that it is inexpedient to introduce any alteration in the canonical mode hitherto observed in the nomination of Irish Roman Catholic Bishops ; which mode by long experience has proved to be unexceptionable, wise, and salutary.

RESOLVED, That the Roman Catholic Prelates pledge themselves to adhere to the rule by which they have been hitherto uniformly guided ; namely, to recommend to his Holiness only such persons as candidates for vacant Bishoprics as are of unimpeachable loyalty and peaceable conduct.

3. **RESOLVED**, That the Oath of Allegiance, which, under the provisions of an Irish act of parliament, enacted in that behalf, is tendered to and is taken by his Majesty's Irish Roman Catholic subjects, was agreed to and approved by all the R. C. Bishops in Ireland, after long and conscientious discussion and consultation had with several Catholic Universities and individual authorities throughout Europe ; and that said oath contains such ample declaration of civil faith and attachment, such total and explicit abjuration of all foreign pretensions, whether spiritual or temporal, to intermeddle in the civil establishments or laws of this part of his Majesty's dominions, and such authentic protestation of our doctrines in the only matter then affording ground for slander or jealousy, as that said oath furnishes a security, such as we believe is not demanded by any other state from native subjects, and beyond which no pledge can be effectual, short of the overthrow of our consciences, or such other perpetual and public degradation of our communion, as will tend to disquiet the government, notwithstanding an ostensible emancipation, by the sense of indignity on the one hand, and by the continuance of suspicion on the other.

4. **RESOLVED**, That said Oath, and the promises, declarations, abjurations, and protestations therein contained, are notoriously to the Roman Catholic Church at large become a part of the Roman Catholic Religion, as taught by us, the Bishops, and received and maintained by the Roman Catholic Churches in Ireland ; and, as such, are approved and sanctioned by the other Roman Catholic Churches. So that it appears to us utterly impossible that any way is left to any foreign authority, whereby the allegiance of Irish Catholics can be assailed, unless by that, which God avert, by open invasion ; in which extreme supposition, as we will persevere by God's grace to do our duty, so we have certain hope, that every

true son of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland will eagerly prove how well his religion can stand with the most heroic allegiance.

5. **RESOLVED**, That the Roman Catholic Church teaches, that of the Christian polity, a most essential part is the principle and tendency of an unceasing communication in divine things amongst all the faithful; of which even the temporary suspension is a misfortune to mankind, but the perpetual abrogation by human law must be considered by us as manifest oppression of conscience.

6. **RESOLVED**, That this immoveable doctrine neither contradicts the duty, nor impedes the zeal of the most faithful and generous attachment to Kings and to lawful authorities, but, on the contrary, exalts this duty to a divine station; because our Religion, of which that communion is the bond, teaches fidelity above temptation, unexampled obedience to laws, and that, in all human duties, we must surpass, for conscience sake, the measure of them, who serve merely for reward, or through fear.

7. **RESOLVED**, That the Primacy of the Roman Catholic Church is known, of fact, to have devolved on his Holiness Pius VII. now, as we have reason to believe, a secluded prisoner in the hands of the public enemy; but that such his imprisonment is not a deposition, nor does it amount to a deposition; because no Bishop may rightfully be put down from his rank, unless by voluntary resignation, or canonical judgment; and the rank of the Bishop of Rome being sole and single, imports, in the term, its inherent authority, which is not subject to any portion of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, however respectable, or to any lay Catholic authority, however extensively, or even universally predominant.

8. **RESOLVED**, That in his said Holiness, his captivity notwithstanding, the right still abides of giving communion and confirmation to Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church; whereby Bishops, so confirmed, are re-

cognized by one another, and by the Church at large; and that such condition is become a landmark of the Catholic discipline and ecclesiastical peace throughout all the churches.

9. RESOLVED, That the spirit of fellow-suffering, with the afflicted Church of Christ, and of abhorrence of the misdeed, by which the salutary function of the Papal See has been intercepted, through open violence against the meekest of men; as well as the sentiment of duty, fraternity, and reverence towards our guiltless Brother and Spiritual Chief, forbid us to take up as spoils, any part of the right of the Apostolic See, so invaded, violated, and trodden down, for a time, by sacrilege.

10. RESOLVED, That by an act of the same day with these presents, and encyclical to the R. C. Churches, we have judged, concluded, and declared, that, during the public captivity of his said Holiness, and until his freedom shall have been unequivocally manifested by some act, not merely of approbation or cession, we refuse, send back and reprobate; and, moreover, for ourselves we annul and cancel as to any effect, all briefs, or pretended briefs, bulls, or pretended bulls, rescripts, even as of his proper motion, and certain knowledge, bearing title as from his said Holiness, and purporting to be declaratory of his free, or of any resignation of the papal office; and that, during the said captivity of Pius VII. we will account the years of his Pontificate, and of no other.

11. RESOLVED, That if it should please God, that his said Holiness should die, as now, a prisoner, we will continue to account the Holy See vacant, until full information and canonical proof shall be had by us of the free, canonical and due election of his Successor.

12. RESOLVED, That before the date of an Irish act of Parliament, giving the last relief to his Majesty's Ro-

man Catholic Subjects, and from that to this present time, the recommendation of us Bishops, when concurring, had been progressively advancing in weight and authority with the Holy See ; and, as we believe, principally from the following cause : that we were known to be at once attached to our lawful Government, and attached to the Roman Catholic Faith ; neither sacrificing our religion to worldly hopes, nor making this freedom of conscience a cloak for malice ; but inculcating religious and social duties, in the name of one God, the Founder of both.

13. **RESOLVED**, That by the course latterly adhered to, two benefits were obtained, and were in progress to become a part of our Ecclesiastical system ; the one, that the choice of persons to fill the office of Bishops, effectively originated from, and was circumscribed by us, so far at least as to make it inaccessible to any foreign temporal influence, or corrupt recommendation. The other advantage was this : that it held out our Hierarchy to the world at large as purely selected ; and thus obtained a distinction, which ultimately redounded to the honour of the tolerating spirit of his present Majesty's Government.

14. **RESOLVED**, That any change, at present, in our ecclesiastical appointments, expressly innovating upon our Religious Discipline, on the ground of its being perilous to the state, because Roman Catholic, and this without a single instance of danger incurred, must at once degrade our Church in the estimation of Europe ; as dishonouring its most prevailing Christian Belief, by our implied acquiescence in a charge of its inadequacy to maintain the most perfect social faith ; and must prejudice at home the interests of the public cause, by disabling our authority, which is, and has been, and will ever be exerted in that cause.

15. **RESOLVED**, That the idea of making the Elec-

tions of Bishops entirely national, by confining said election to Chapters alone, or to Chapters and Metropolitans, is superseded by the matters and considerations of the three last Resolutions; is, moreover, not within our competence; and though it had been free of the guilt of Schism, would, in the present circumstances of the Irish Catholics, subject our Religion to the most serious and unseemly disadvantages; and in our judgment, would most probably lapse into the sole and positive appointment of the Crown.

16. **RESOLVED**, That as to arrangements regarding our Church, and said to be intended for accompanying a proposal of the Emancipation of Irish Roman Catholics, prudence, and a regard for our duty forbid us to pronounce a judgment; whereas those rumoured arrangements have not been ascertained by us through any channel. However, we declare, that no spirit of conciliation has been ever wanting on our part; that we seek for nothing beyond the mere integrity and safety of the Roman Catholic Religion, in its Christian Faith and Communion, and in its essential discipline, subordination, and moral code: nor may we be justly reproached for our solicitude in guarding those sacred things, for which we are bound to watch, and bear testimony with our lives, if required.

Which **RESOLUTIONS** we have also approved, and make known to you, that you may hold firm the anchor of Faith, and the hope of God, and the true Doctrines of the Gospel; to which adhering you will prosper. Once more, Reverend Brothers and Beloved Children, Peace be with you! Amen.

Richard O'Reilly.

J. T. Troy.

Thomas Bray.

Francis Moylan.

P. Joseph Plunket.

Peter MacLoughlin,

Edmund Derry.

James Caulfield.
Daniel Delany.
Edmund French.
William Coppinger.
James Lanigan.
John Young.
John Cruise.
Patrick Macmullen.
Charles O'Donnel.
Charles Sughrue.

James Murphy.
John Power,
James O'Shaughnessy.
Francis C. O'Reilly.
Florence M'Carthy.
Patrick Ryan.
Daniel Murray.
Oliver O'Kelly,
V. C. Tuam.

In Addition to the 16 RESOLUTIONS contained in their Address to the Catholics of Ireland, the PRELATES, in Synod assembled, on the said 26th of Feb. passed the following 17th Resolution respecting their Agent in England, which they transmitted to him, in order to its being published there, in such manner as he should deem expedient.

RESOLVED UNANIMOUSLY, That the Thanks of this Meeting be, and are hereby given, to the Right Rev. Dr. Milner, Bishop of Castabala, for the faithful Discharge of his Duty, as Agent to the R. Catholic Bishops of this part of the United Kingdom, and more particularly for his late Apostolical Firmness, in dissenting from and opposing a vague, indefinite Declaration or Resolution, pledging R. Catholics to an eventual acquiescence in arrangements, possibly prejudicial to the integrity and safety of our Church Discipline.

Signed by Order,

P. RYAN, Bishop of Germanicia, Secretary.

At a Meeting of the GENERAL COMMITTEE of the CATHOLICS of IRELAND, held at D'Arcy's, in Earl-Street, Dublin, on the 2d of March, unani-

mously and respectably attended by the different Members from ALL PARTS OF IRELAND,

The Lord FFRENCH in the Chair.

The Most Rev. Doctor Murray read to the Committee, a written communication from the Catholic Prelates of Ireland.

It was unanimously resolved, That the Thanks of the Committee are due, and are hereby given, to the Most Rev. and Right Rev. the Catholic Prelates of Ireland, for the communication now made to us, through the Most Rev. Doctor Murray, and the Rev. Doctor Hamil.

That the Thanks of the Meeting are due, and are hereby given, to the Most Rev. Doctor Murray, and the Rev. Doctor Hamil, for making that communication.

That, as Irishmen and Catholics, we never can consent to any dominion or controul whatsoever, over the appointment of our Prelates, on the part of the Crown or of the servants of the Crown.

That the Thanks of the Committee are hereby given to Daniel O'Connell, Esq. for the faithful discharge of the duty of Secretary.

FFRENCH, Chairman.

THOMAS FITZGERALD, Esq. in the Chair.

It was unanimously resolved, That the Thanks of this Meeting are due, and are hereby given, to Lord FFrench, for his proper and dignified conduct in the Chair.

THOMAS FITZGERALD.

At a Meeting of the GENERAL COMMITTEE of the CATHOLICS of IRELAND, held at D'Arcy's Hotel, Dublin, on the 24th of April, 1810,

THOMAS WISE, Esq. in the Chair.

RESOLVED, That we feel it a duty we owe to ourselves and to our country, solemnly to declare, that the Catholic

Laity of Ireland never have, directly or indirectly, authorized any persons to offer, through our friends in Parliament, or otherwise, the conceding to the Crown, any interference whatsoever with respect to the appointment of Catholic Prelates in Ireland.

EDWARD HAY, Secretary.



INSTRUCTIONS

ADDRESSED TO

THE CATHOLICS

OF THE

Midland Counties of England,

ON

THE STATE AND DANGERS OF THEIR RELIGION.

By the Rev. Dr. MILNER, B.C.—V.A.

*Speciosum nomen est pacis et pulchra est opinio unitatis; sed quis
ambigat eam solam esse pacem Ecclesiæ, que est Christi?*

S. Hilar. contra Auxent.

WOLVERHAMPTON:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY THOMAS SIMPSON;

Sold also by Wood, and Wilkes, Birmingham;...by Keating Browne, & Co,

Duke-Street, Grosvenor-Square; Booker, and Faulder, Bond-Street;

Sherwood, Nelly, and Jones, Paternoster-Row: Ridgeway,

Piccadilly; Budd, Pall-Mall,...and Fitzpatrick, and

Coyne, Dublin.

1811

ADVERTISEMENT.

THOUGH the instructions of Catholic Prelates to their flocks are generally printed, yet it is not usual to publish them. But there is good reason for publishing these instructions, because the public, and especially the legislature, are interested in a great part of their contents. Another equally cogent reason for publishing them regards the writer. On the 29th of last May, about thirty persons of his communion, some of them very respectable, were artfully drawn together, and induced to disclaim his "political conduct, writings, and opinions," which disclaimer, on the following day, was published in all the News-papers. It is incumbent then on the writer, in justice to his situation and character, to shew the public what the Politics are which he has been and is pursuing. They are all contained in the present pamphlet, and they will be found to consist in nothing else but a steady, plain-dealing, and self-denying adherence to the religion which he professes, and of which he is a guardian. No man living can shew that he has or ever had any other politics.

Pastoral Instructions, &c.

MY DEAR BRETHREN,

THE first duty of the Chief Pastors of the Church, that from which they derive their title, is to watch over the mystical city of which they are appointed sentinels. For thus says the Almighty by his prophet Isaiah. "Upon thy walls, O Jerusalem, I have appointed watchmen; all the day and all the night they shall not hold their peace. O you that are mindful of the Lord, hold not your peace." (1) In conformity with this appointment, the Almighty warns his Pastors by another Prophet, in the following awful terms: "Son of man, speak to the children of thy people, and say to them, When I bring the sword upon a land, if the people of the land take a man, one of the meanest, and make him a watchman over them, and he seeth the sword coming, and he soundeth not the trumpet, and the people look not to themselves, and the sword cometh, and cutteth off a soul from amongst them; he indeed is taken away in his iniquity, but I will require his blood at the hand of the watchman.—So thou, O son of man, I have made thee a watchman to the house of Israel." (2)

If then, "standing upon the watch-tower of the Lord by day, and upon my ward by night, the burden of Duma call to me out of Seir," in the words of the former prophet; "Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, what of the night?" (3) I answer in the words of holy Joel: "Hear ye old men, and give ear all ye inhabitants of the earth; hath this ever happened in your days, or in the days of your fathers?" (4)

(1) Isa. lxii. 6.—(2) Ezek. xxxiii. 2, 3, 6, 7.—(3) Isa. xxi. 8, 11.

(4) Joel i. 2.

I see commotion and desolation in almost every kingdom and state in the universe:—I see the inhabitants of the earth swept away, by mutual slaughter, in thousands and millions:—I see Kings and Princes weltering in their blood, or pining in dungeons or exile:—I see the unoffending Chief of God's people stripped of his sacred patrimony, and destitute of food and raiment:—I see the Holy City, consecrated by the monuments of religion, and the relics of 400,000 martyrs, trampled upon by the impious:—I see half a million of pious solitaires, of both sexes, whose employment it was to edify and to pray for mankind, dragged from their peaceful abodes, and turned adrift on a wicked and pitiless world:—I see an equal number of sacred altars, on which the atoning blood of the *Lamb of God* heretofore flowed, overturned or polluted:—I see the nurseries of God's ministers, and those amongst others which were destined to supply your spiritual wants, overwhelmed and annihilated:—I see the successors of the Apostles, the head Pastors of the Church, diminished in their numbers, oppressed and thwarted in their authority and functions:—I see the stones of the sanctuary, the chief depositaries of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, torn from the seat of Peter, and scattered over different regions:—I see a temporary interruption in the essential communication between the head and members of the Universal Church.—In short, I see injustice, cruelty, and barbarity triumphant, on one hand, and avarice, ambition, dissipation, and irreligion generally prevalent on the other; so that looking back on the state of our Holy Church during the eighteen centuries of her existence since the time of her Divine founder, I do not find that she was ever in a state of so much complicated distress as she is in at present. With all these calamities, and the necessary consequences of them before my eyes, can I avoid crying out, like the prophet Isaiah, in contemplating the

burden of Jerusalem : “ Depart from me ; I will weep bitterly ; labour not to comfort me for the desolation of the daughter of my people.” (1)

Having taken this view of the state of the Catholic Church in general, when I direct my sight to the condition of the particular portions of it, situated in these islands, I observe that, while we are exempt from many of the evils which oppress our brethren upon the continent, we are exposed to others peculiar to ourselves, which are so much the more dangerous, as they are less apprehended, in consequence of their being disguised under the appearance of a friendly relief. I shall explain these to you in considerable detail, after I have fulfilled, with the help of God, to the best of my power, another duty ; that of shewing you how you are to view, and what conclusions you are to draw from the above-mentioned general calamities of the Church and of our fellow creatures. For Pastors are appointed, not only to watch over their flocks, but also to guide them in every situation and circumstance.

To speak first of the temporal calamities which have fallen heavy, beyond all example, on the Christian world, and more particularly on the Catholic parts of it, France, Flanders, Poland, Austria, the several States of Germany, Austria, all the Principalities and States of Italy and the Alps, Spain and Portugal, with their respective dependencies, what are all these but evident tokens and effects of God’s wrath against those whom he has most favoured with his lights and graces ? The Bible is full of God’s threats, and of his execution of those threats, against his chosen people, for their irreligion and immorality ; and we observe, that the general instrument he has made use of in the execution of these threats has been some utterly abandoned and infidel nation. Thus says the Lord : “ Woe to the Assyrian, he is the rod and staff of my anger ; and my

indignation is in their hands. I will send him to a deceitful nation; I will give him a charge against the people of my wrath.”(1)—“The Lord will lift up a signal to the nations afar off; he will whistle to them from the ends of the earth, and behold they shall come with speed quickly”(2) In like manner, when an Alaric, an Attila, a Tottila, when the Danes, the Saracens, and the Tartars, in their turns, carried fire and sword through the different portions of Christianity, the Fathers and Doctors of the Church never failed to proclaim them the scourges of God, which were not to be withdrawn but by piety and penance. If any one pretends to account for the calamities in question by natural causes, and doubts whether the Lord “has helped the counsel of the impious,”(3) let him say, whether, in the course of these events, the wisdom of experienced statesmen has not, for the most part, been baffled by the rashness of the ignorant? Whether the wealth and credit of regular governments have not been weighed down by the poverty of insolvent anarchies? And whether the tried bravery of disciplined troops has not yielded to the tumult of raw and half-armed rabbles? Nay, have not the very seasons and elements helped the counsels of the impious in the most striking manner?

If then the anger of God has been so heavy upon our brethren in other countries, upon what do we ground our confidence of security from it? Are we more religious than they? Are we more innocent? It is as vain and unreasonable to compare our lives with those of others, as it is to vent our indignation against the scourge which is held over us, without looking up to the hand that holds it. The case is, we are the members of a Church which is characteristically HOLY: we ought to be “the salt of the earth, and the light of the world”(4) In short, we ought

(1) Isa. x. 5, 6.—(2) Isa. v. 26.—(3) Job x. 3.—(4) Matt. v. 13, 14.

to be "the hedge set up to stand in the gap in favour of the land, that the Lord may not destroy it." (1) Instead of this, have not we, in the same proportion, as the penal laws have been relaxed in our favour, relaxed in the performance of our religious and moral duties, so as to draw down the divine indignation, there is reason to fear, upon our fellow subjects, rather than to avert it from them?

But the complicated and unexampled evils which we are witnesses to at the present day, are calculated to suggest other even more alarming apprehensions to thoughtful and religious minds, than those which I have mentioned.—We are all, my dear brethren, convinced that, as the world had a beginning, so it is to have an end; and we are constantly admonished by our Divine Master, as well as by his Apostles, to watch and to hold ourselves in constant expectation of, and readiness for this all important event, and to be attentive to the signs which he has been pleased to give us of its near approach. Some of these seem to have been already manifested before our eyes, and others to be upon the point of disclosing themselves. — We have heard of "wars and rumours of wars, nation rising up against nation, and kingdom against kingdom," (2) in a manner unaccountable, and beyond the experience of past ages; and in proportion as nations have been subdued, instead of laying aside their arms, we see them arrayed for further conquests and greater slaughter; as if to swell the immense army of Antichrist, which, in the sixth age of the Church, that into which we seem to have now entered, (3) will be

(1) Ezek. xxii. 30.—(2) Matt. xxiv. 6, 7.

(3) St. Augustine says, that the Book of the Revelations contains the whole history of the Church from the first till the second coming of Christ. The same is the general doctrine of the Fathers and of the most able modern expositors; amongst whom is to be reckoned the late most learned and pious Bishop Walmesley, in his History of the Church of Christ. The last mentioned,

“loosed; like the four winds, to ravage the whole Church with a general persecution, and to kill the third part of men.” (1) We have seen a great proportion of the Kings and Princes of the earth plunged into dungeons, or seeking obscure retreats, like the dens and rocks of mountains, to hide themselves from greater calamities. We have seen the fourth great empire dissolved, and its very name suppressed; which event St. Paul, according to the best interpreters, assigned as a mark of the near approach of the Man of Sin. (2) We have seen “the Holy City given up to be trampled upon by the Gentiles; (3) and we have even seen “the abomination of desolation, or open idolatry, standing in the Holy Place.” (4) We have seen “the sun (of faith) darkened, (5) and the moon (the scriptural emblem of the Church) (6) as red as blood (from the desolation and persecution she endures) and the stars (figurative of the chief Pastors) (7) falling from heaven,” (8) by the apostacy of some, and the extinction of many more

following Chetardie and other interpreters, shews that the seven seals, the seven trumpets, and the seven vials, mentioned in the prophetic book, regard the same times and events. We have witnessed, in the first age of the Church, the victories of Christ's religion, and the persecutions of it; in the second age, the attacks of Arianism and other heresies; in the third, the destruction of the western empire by the Goths and other barbarians; in the fourth, the desolation of the eastern by Mahomet; in the fifth, the revolution caused by Luther and his followers. We are now, therefore, in the sixth age, the age of increased warfare and desolation, the age of the extinction of the Roman empire, (the present Emperor's title being now confined to Austria) the age of infidelity and apostacy, of Elias and Henoc's appearance, of the conversion of the Jews, of Antichrist's coming and persecution. In the seventh age, the mystery of God shall be finished in the second coming of Jesus Christ.

(1) Rev. ix. 15.—(2) Lucifer, the general interpretation of the following passage by the Fathers: *Only that he (the Roman Emperor) who now holdeth do hold, till he be taken out of the way; and then that wicked one (Antichrist) shall be revealed.* 2 Thess. ii. 7.—(3) Rev. xi. 2.—(4) Matt. xxiv. 15.—(5) Malach. iv. 2.—(6) Cant. vi. 9.—(7) Rev. i. 16.—(8) Matt. xxiv. 29. Rev. vi. 13.

of them.—We have seen such an extensive revolt from the Church (1) of the converted nations, that we can readily understand how Christ, at his second coming, “will hardly find faith upon the earth.”(2) On the other hand, we see that the Jews, after having lain under the curse of God and man for eighteen centuries, are now rising to notice and favour, and collecting themselves together, in order, as we may well suppose, to acknowledge, in the first place, a false Messiah,(3) and then, upon the preaching of their still surviving prophet Elias, the true one (4)—These symptoms, my dear brethren, are certainly sufficient to alarm us for the near approach of that terrible day, which we ought always to have before our eyes, and therefore, to induce us to prepare for fresh calamities, and for a dreadful persecution, rather than for temporal benefits and distinctions.

From what has been said, you will learn not to be scandalized at what has befallen the See of Peter, “the head Church whence all ecclesiastical unity is derived,”(5) which now, a second time within these few years, is become the theatre of schism, irreligion, and persecution. This was the case with the same Church during the three first centuries, those of its Apostolical fervour. Jerusalem also, the theatre of our blessed Lord’s mortal actions and passion, has, for a great many centuries, groaned under the oppression of infidels. In a word, we may with our late martyred Pontiff, when he and his City were seized upon by the unbelievers, say to them: “The monuments of our Holy religion are indeed in your hands, but the religion itself you cannot touch.” Much less are you to be scandalized at the captivity and sufferings of our present edifying Pontiff, Pius VII. A very great number of his predecessors in the Apostolic See

(1) 2 Thes. ii. 3.—(2) Luke xviii. 8.—(3) John v. 43.—(4) Malach. iv. 5, 6.—(5) St. Cypr. L. 1. Ep. 3.

have suffered captivity and death itself in the same sacred cause, without any defection in the Holy See. St. Peter himself was crucified by Nero; and even "our great High Priest who is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God," (1) permitted the wickedness of men to triumph in appearance over him, and to nail him to an ignominious cross. It is our glory, my brethren, to have a Pontiff who knows how to suffer the greatest calamities for the sake of Justice and religion. (2)

Very different, however, my dear brethren, ought to be our sentiments and feelings at considering these events, as they affect religion and humanity. In this view, we ought to shed bitter tears of grief for the boundless outrages committed against the Majesty of Heaven, by base mortals; for the numberless profanations of a divine religion, brought from thence by an Incarnate God, on the part of perfidious wretches who themselves had been initiated into it; for the multiplied miseries of our fellow-creatures here upon earth, and for the everlasting woes which await so many millions of them, notwithstanding all that Jesus Christ has done and suffered for them, in a future state of existence. It is our duty to bewail these evils; and not only to bewail them, but also to pray fervently and constantly, that God would be pleased to mitigate and to "shorten them;" (3) and not only to pray against them, but also to exert ourselves and stem the course of them, as far as it may be in our power so to do. Of one thing, for our consolation, we may rest assured that, "The gates of hell will never prevail against the Church." (4)—"The rain may fall, and the floods may come, and the winds may blow, and beat upon that house; but it shall not fall, for it is founded upon a rock; (5) even the "rock of Peter." (6) It shall not only stand, but it

(1) Heb. iv. 14.—(2) See Appendix A.—(3) Matt. xxiv. 22.—

(4) Matt. xvi. 18.—(5) Matt. vii. 25.—(6) "Tu es PETRUS, et super hanc PETRAM ædificabo ecclesiam meam." Matt. xvi. 18.

shall stand unchanged; its Divine founder continuing for ever with it,(1) and his Holy Spirit teaching it all truth.”(2)

PART II.

In pursuance of my duty, as a sentinel of the Mystical City, I proceed to direct your view, my dear brethren, to the fatal, though covert mischief, which now threatens you and the other Catholics of these islands, in addition to your share in the common calamities of the Church at the present awful period. I slightly warned you of your danger, in a work which I published some months ago, entitled—AN ELUCIDATION OF THE VETO: which, I thank God, has produced a considerable effect in several quarters; still I find it necessary, in consequence of the prepossession of some Catholics and the ignorance of others, to expose this danger in a stronger light than I have done, and more emphatically to caution you against it. The summary of what I have to prove may be reduced to the following assertions:

1st. That a settled plan is formed by statesmen, the most eminent for their rank, abilities, and public virtue, and especially for their zeal to effect Catholic emancipation, which is promoted by the general disposition of the Legislature, and of many Catholics, to introduce changes into our Church-discipline, incompatible with its safety and integrity:

2dly. That, what is called THE FIFTH RESOLUTION, which was transmitted to certain Catholics who met at the St. Alban's Tavern, on the first of last February, and voted by the greater part of them, and which was afterwards presented, in the form of a second Petition to the House of Peers, by Lord Grey, and to the House of Commons, by the late Mr Windham, was and is calculated to express a disposition in the Catholics who signed it, to acquiesce in these changes;

(1) Matt xxviii. 20.—(2) John xvi. 13.

3dly. That, nevertheless, neither the English Catholic body at large, nor the majority of the aforesaid subscribers at the St. Alban's Tavern, and that, least of all, the three Apostolic Vicars with their two Co-adjutors, are pledged, notwithstanding their signing the 5th Resolution, to an acquiescence in the plan.— I am sensibly grieved that many of the arguments, which I am bound to bring forward, will give displeasure to several respectable characters of both communions: (1) but when those personages, (who are in the habit of paying me compliments on other subjects and of doing justice to the uprightness of my intentions with respect to this) when they, I say, reflect, that if I know any thing, I must know my own religion, and that, in the situation which I hold, it is a duty I owe to God, my flock, and to myself, to protect it from danger to the best of my power, I hope they will moderate their resentment against me, and attend to my arguments. I am aware also, that the present exposure will sweep down some long-laboured cobweb fabrications of certain ingenious friends of mine, which are contrived to present one face to Catholics, another to Protestants; to appear one thing in England, another in Ireland; to shew one hue to the clergy, another to the laity. But such fabrications I consider as unworthy the sacred cause of religion, and I shall feel no more regret in destroying these instruments of deception, than I did in destroying others of the same sort twenty years ago.

I have observd, for many years past, an eager desire in several distinguished Protestants to introduce a sort of REFORMATION into the Catholic Church; and that this has been met by a corresponding disposition on the part of several eminent Catholics, (2) I

(1) See Appendix, B.—(2) One of these, a prime manager and director of Catholic affairs, never ceases calling for a re-union of the R. Catholics with the Established Church: he even pronounces

need bring no stronger proof of this than the countenance and protection which was afforded by the personages in question, on both sides, to the infidel Geddes's "Modest Apology for Catholics," of which work genuine Catholics will form a true idea, when I tell them that, after discussing various points of controversy, and giving up the orthodox cause on most of them, he concludes by calling for one more General Council, to revise the decrees of all past General Councils. We have also been assured of late, by persons, the best informed, that a thorough Reformation of our Church-discipline and government made part of Mr. Pitt's project of the Union, ten years ago. (1) Still I am of opinion, that there was no fixed plan amongst our Parliamentary friends for this purpose, till within these two or three years past; when the impossibility of overcoming certain obstacles in the way of their patriotic views for the welfare of the Empire, without sacrificing to the religious jealousy which had raised it, being ascertained, it was resolved upon that this sacrifice should be made at our expense, and the guarantee treaty was concluded, without letting those persons into the secret, who alone were competent to pronounce on the possibility of its being executed.

Venit hora et nunc est, and quotes Bossuet and Du Pin to shew the practicability of this re-union. But he takes care to conceal from Protestants that this plan never was proposed to them by these Catholic writers upon any other footing than that they should admit the authority of the Catholic Church, the Pope's supremacy, the seven sacraments, the sacrifice of the Mass, the invocation of saints, &c. In a word, we would give our lives to unite in religion with our countrymen, on the plan of Bossuet.—See *Revolutions*, &c. and *Life of Fenclo*n by C. Butler, Esq.—(1) Lord Grenville and Lord Castlereagh are said to have declared this publicly. No parish schoolboy was more grossly ignorant of the Catholic religion than this Right Hon. Gentleman once was, who thus undertook to reform it. It appears that he really believed Papists to profess perjury, king-killing, &c. I observed in the Committee of the Commons on the Catholic Bill, that when he attempted to remove one of our objections to a certain oath, he created two others.

We can now form a much better idea of the plan than we could do formerly, in consequence of the publication of Lord Grenville's celebrated "Letter to the Earl of Fingal," which an Honourable Secretary of State (1) has properly termed "the Political Creed of all who act with him." I sincerely applaud his Lordship's candour, in thus openly declaring to us the price we are expected to pay for civil Emancipation. Such frankness accords with my ideas of transacting business regarding large descriptions of people. The same generous quality of soul will, I am sure, allow us to weigh the terms of his Lordship's proposition, in order to comprehend the full extent of it. I need not observe that the other party in the Legislature insist upon still harder terms with us, in case they can bring their minds to consent to emancipation at all, than our political friends do.

What now says the letter? Lord Grenville, having premised that his "decision has been taken in concurrence with some of the most distinguished advocates of the Catholic cause," declares that "It would be a vain hope of accomplishing such purposes (Mr. Pitt's) solely by the repeal of the few remaining disqualifications.—With the just and salutary extension of civil rights to your (the Catholic) body must be combined *other extensive and complicated arrangements.*" What Catholic heart does not sink at the idea of his religion (that religion which we have suffered near upon three centuries of active persecution to preserve entire) undergoing *extensive and complicated arrangements* at the hands of legislators, who, however liberal and benevolent, know so little of it as to swear that it is *idolatrous*? (2) —All due provision must be made for the inviolable *maintenance of the Religious and civil establishments* of this United

(1) Mr. Rider.—(2) 30 Car. II. cap. 1. The qualifying oath of Members of P.

“ Kingdom.”—Alas ! is not this religious establishment already defended by a protestant Sovereign, by an immense army and navy, and by the laws ? Is it not paid by the state, and recruited from the Catholic population by the Charter schools and other similar institutions ? Does a single Session of Parliament pass away without fresh pecuniary grants or other aid to the clergy ? What further means for its inviolable maintenance, I ask, can be taken in any Parliamentary arrangement of our religion, except to vest an efficient controul over the appointment of our Bishops and officiating Priests, nominally in the Crown, but effectually in the established clergy ?—To what purposes this controul would be applied has been explained above. Among these means, his Lordship continues,—“ I pointed out the proposal of vesting in the crown an effectual Negative on the appointment of your Bishops.—To the forms of these securities, or to the particular detail of the proposed arrangements, I attach comparatively little importance. I look only to the substantial purposes, the safety of our establishments, &c.”—To these substantial purposes, now that we know what they are to be, we also principally look ; and since at present we clearly comprehend that it is not the ostensible ceremony of a fresh pledge of our allegiance, (upon which basis we did once treat with our friends) that they want in requiring a controul over the appointment of our Pastors, but the strengthening of their own Church by the weakening of ours, it is our duty to protest, that, as no instance of a similar claim on this pretext, ever was set up since the foundation of Christianity, so our assenting to it never can be justified upon any principle of our common morality. No ; we must give our lives sooner than our concurrence or assent to it —These sentiments contained in Lord Grenville’s Letter, dated Jan. 27, his Lordship “ re-established” when he presented the Waterford Peti-

tion to the House of Peers, on the 9th of March, on which occasion he is reported to have declared that: "The circumstances which had intervened, since his publication of them in his letter, so far from altering those opinions, had confirmed him in them." The circumstances in question, probably are the instructions sent by the Catholic Committee of Ireland to their agent in England, within a week or ten days after the appearance of the Letter, to get their Petition presented to the Peers, but not through Lord Grenville, the Irish Prelates confirmation of their decision not to admit of any change in their existing Church-discipline, and their rejection of the Declaration made at the St. Alban's Tavern, together with the Resolution of the above-mentioned Committee "never to admit of any controul whatever over the appointment of their Prelates, on the part of the Crown.

The second great advocate of the Catholic claims in the House of Peers, and the representative of the English Catholics there, is Earl Grey. This Noble Lord in the late Debate upon that subject, is stated in the Newspaper, which is immediately under his patronage, (1) to have "acknowledged that he had been consulted on Lord Grenville's Letter, and that he had no hesitation in saying that there was not a word, there was not a sentiment, there was not a principle, contained in it, which had not his full and unqualified concurrence. In advocating the rights of the Catholics he

(1) Morning Chronicle, June 7.—N. B. I cannot forbear noticing one curious passage in the Report of this speech. His Lordship is made to say that, "He knew and felt the unreasonable conduct of some Catholics upon the present point, and that he could not conceal from himself that they were instigated by the artifices of those who were decided enemies to their cause." To this charge, as far as I and my brother Prelates are supposed to be implicated in it, I answer, that I hope proper means may be taken to detect and expose the folly and ingratitude here supposed:—The real truth is, *Amicus Grenville, Amicus Grey, Amicus Hippisley; sed magis Amica Religio Catholica.*

“and his friends had never denied the propriety of
 “*such modifications as might be deemed necessary to*
 “*the safety of the Established Religion*: this modifi-
 “cation had been looked upon as the best which gave
 “to the Crown a negative power to controul the ap-
 “pointment of the Roman Catholic Bishops.”—
 His Lordship had delivered the same sentiments, and
 nearly in the same words, when he presented the Ca-
 tholic Petition and the Petition of the Meeting at the
 St. Alban's Tavern; but his speech on that occasion
 has been shamefully mutilated and corrupted by certain
 editors, as will hereafter be shewn.

To proceed to the declarations of other Peers,—
 Lord Erskine is reported to have avowed that his
 “Creed was Lord Grenville's Letter.” Lord Holland
 promised that “if the House would go into a Com-
 “mittee, he would assent to the safeguards (for the
 “established Church) which the most scrupulous might
 “propose.” Lord Clancarty is said to have maintain-
 ed, in a long declamatory speech, that “it is enough
 “for Catholics to retain their speculative tenets, and
 “that it is absolutely necessary, for the security of
 “the Established Church, that they should submit the
 “*whole of the discipline of their own Church*, whether
 “originating from General Councils, from the Pope,
 “or the Irish Bishops, to the controul of his Majesty's
 “responsible ministers; so that no part of this disci-
 “pline could be executed without the consent of the
 “executive Magistrate.”—This his Lordship calls en-
 franchizing our Church, and he tells us that it is con-
 formable to sound Catholic doctrine. If then the
 Committee had taken place, the nearest relative in
 mind as well as body to the liberal Fox would have
 been bound to go this whole length! Let it suffice
 to say, that Lord Kenyon (in his printed speech)
 Lord Liverpool, the Lord Chancellor, and all the
 other speakers on their side of the House, appeared to

be nearly as *scrupulous*, that is to say, as hard in their proposed dealings with Catholics as Lord Clancarty. Only Lord Donoughmore, and one or two other Peers, seemed disposed to relieve the Catholics, as they *actually are*, that is to say, on the same just and liberal terms as Parliament heretofore relieved them in 1778, 1791, and 1793. The rest required conditions inconsistent with the safety and even the integrity of our religion.

The same was the case in the House of Commons. With the exception of Mr. Hutchinson, Lord Donoughmore's brother, the Marquis of Tavistock, General Mathew, and one or two others, all the speakers insisted upon new-modeling our Church government and discipline. The generous, the soaring Grattan, though unwilling to press *The Veto*, insists upon excluding the Pope's power in the appointment of our Bishops, because the present Pope is a prisoner to the French Emperor, and because he foretells that the next Pope will be his creature: hence he insists upon what he calls *Domestic Elections*. And why, may I ask, is the Pope a prisoner, but because he will not be unjust to this country, and because he is resolved and has taken means that his successor shall be as independent a Head of the Church as he himself is. I blush for my countrymen, when the most renowned amongst them for his liberality, can propose to add fresh and more galling chains on the illustrious Pius VII. in such circumstances! Besides this, Mr. Grattan knows well that the very case which he dwells upon occurred during all the foreign wars of our victorious Edward III. and this without the least detriment to him or his kingdom. He knows also, that upon his principle there could not have been a common Patriarch of Christianity at all, during the greater part of its existence, as it has been incessantly afflicted with intestine wars, and as the successive Popes were sure

to be natives of one or other of the contending kingdoms. Then again, how absurd, as far as concerns the state, is the clamour for domestic appointments; since it is an actual fact that, among the 30 Catholic Prelates of Ireland, the four Apostolic Vicars, and two Coadjutors of England, and the two Vicars Apostolic and two Coadjutors of Scotland, there is not a single individual who is not a native of those respective countries, not an individual who is not a sworn and an unimpeachable good subject of his Majesty, and who has not been substantially chosen and appointed by his Majesty's sworn and unimpeachable subjects! Heretofore our Parliamentary friends gave a fair representation of this matter. In the debate of 1805, Mr. Ponsonby said very truly, "The Catholics choose their own Bishops, the Pope only gives them their spiritual capacity."

Our Honourable and learned Friend, Sir John Hippisley, in seconding the motion of Mr. Grattan, does so, upon a different principle from his. He insists upon the absolute necessity of a *Royal Veto*, unrestrained in its exercise, as to the number of times, and as to its motive. He himself was willing to admit of restrictions, but it seems that a Noble Lord of great abilities and weight in the present business, convinced him that restrictions were inadmissible. Sir John publishes, together with his speech, the sketch of a Bill for the arrangement in question, which, as he is now our leader in the House of Commons, we may soon expect to hear is introduced there. He is for extending the Veto to the appointment of Catholic Deans, and means to subject even private Priests to the licence of the neighbouring magistrates, who very frequently are the Parish Ministers. Still further to enthrall us, he proposes that all correspondence or intercourse between the Catholics and their spiritual head shall be submitted to the examination of certain officers of a new kind of

Inquisition or Star Chamber, for their amendment, if serious, or for their amusement, if trifling. (1) Such is the Catholic Emancipation which our best friends are arranging for us! Such the reward of the *unparalleled exertions* of the Irish Prelates, twelve years ago, in the cause of civil allegiance and social Order! Such the expedient for satisfying the Catholics of Ireland! In vain does Sir John heap together all the oppressive and irreligious acts of Jansenistical and Deistical Princes and Ministers of Catholic countries (one of whom, the Emperor Joseph II. lost his best provinces in consequence of them) by way of convincing us that these arrangements are consistent with Catholic tenets and discipline; We know, and Catholic Ireland knows the contrary. I am well acquainted with the benevolence and uprightness of the Honourable and learned Baronet's heart. He means us a benefit; as all his co-operators likewise do; and he has laboured more, and sacrificed more to serve us, as he understands the business, than any other man living has done, Catholic or Protestant: But, after all, we must judge for ourselves in the present case; and we clearly see that Emancipation is now held out to us upon no other condition than that upon which we could, at all times

(1) See Appendix, D.—The learned Baronet knows more of our tenets, discipline, and œconomy than any other Protestant; and yet his plan would be found essentially defective with respect to his own objects, if carried into execution. We learn from the printed speech, that besides the alterations mentioned above, the Hon. Member wishes to turn the English Vicars Apostolic into Ordinary Bishops; while Lord Redesdale, as he complains, is desirous of turning the Catholic Ordinaries of Ireland into Vicars Apostolic. One intended operation of the Veto, we know, is to exclude all Regular Clergy from the Episcopacy; another we may confidently affirm, is to subject the exercise of ecclesiastical censures to the civil power. In every instance which occurs at the present day, of Catholic Bishops (for they have restrained the power to themselves) exercising that power, which every other Religious Society, and even every club, exercises, that of excluding refractory members, large damages are given against them. Finally there, is question of altering the Catholic Dioceses.

have emancipated ourselves, a real sacrifice of our Religion!

But to proceed to the opinion of other Legislators : Lord Castlereagh contends strongly for an *effectual* ministerial *controul* over the appointment of our Prelates, and the *intercourse* of the Catholics with the Apostolic See.—If this was his Lordship's meaning, when he negotiated with ten of the Irish Prelates, in 1799, he certainly did not act fairly by them.—Lord Jocelyn cannot concede the claims of the Catholics, unless they *come forward in a body to invest* his Majesty with the Veto.—What a strange idea does this Noble Lord entertain of the constitution of the Catholic Church!—Mr. Shaw insists on the necessity of “mutual concessions.”—I should like to ask this and other members who hold the same language:—“Supposing we abjure the Pope's Supremacy, will you abjure your objections against Transubstantiation?”—“O, No,” I hear them say; “but we will allow you to sit in Parliament, and to command regiments.”—To this I reply : pardon me, my Lords and Gentlemen, all exchanges ought to be made between things *Ejusdem generis*. The proposal of bartering spiritual for temporal things is absurd and impious.—Mr. Canning says that “no security short of the Veto ought to be accepted of.”—Mr. Percival seems to adhere to his original conception of Mr. Ponsonby's proposal, (that conception which produced so strong a sensation, for the moment, in Parliament) namely, that it is necessary for Catholics “to change their religion, by admitting the virtual Supremacy of the King over it, before their claims can be granted”(1) - Mr. Saunders Dundas concurs with Lord Grenville that the Veto is an important object, but not the *only important* object; “as it is only *one of the many* important objections to be removed before any thing permanent can be

(1) See Appendix, E.

“ granted to the Catholics,” and he adds that “ many Catholics wish for a change in these respects, no less than himself.”

Such, my dear brethren, was the language and temper of our legislators in both Houses of Parliament, respecting changes in our religion, at the end of last May and the beginning of June. Such also, were the avowed plans of our advocates and friends there; from both of which we may gather the extreme danger that our religion is now in, or will be in when the expected Emancipation is about to take place. For you see, 1st, that Protestant Peers and Gentlemen (who know so little of our Religion, as to swear that its worship is *Idolatrous*) require to legislate on its interior spiritual œconomy and discipline, which they would be incompetent to do, if even they understood the matter; 2dly, that they require *the Catholic body to accept of the proposed changes at their hands; the Catholic body*, which can no more decide or act in this matter than the whole people of England can in making an act of Parliament; 3dly, that the proposed arrangements are in themselves incompatible with the safety and integrity of our Church-discipline; 4thly, that they are to be made for the express and avowed purpose of giving additional security to the Established Church, by shackling our own; an object which it is unlawful for us in any degree whatever to assent to, and much more to concur in. We do not carry that principal so far as Protestants have done, in many respects: (1) on the contrary we indirectly, though most powerfully secure this church, by paying our taxes and contributions, and by sending 200,000 fighting men to defend the King and Constitution, which support it, and we Catholic Clergy, in particular, assist in securing it, by exhorting these men to do their duty as soldiers and sailors, though the Pope himself were to come with

an invading army in order to destroy it; but as to lending a single hand for the particular purpose of supporting it ourselves, this it is not lawful for us to do; for if we thought otherwise, we should be inexcusable in refusing to become members of it.

It might seem invidious in me to point out the particular means by which the arrangements in question are calculated to shackle and weaken our Church, in order to secure and strengthen another Church: I choose therefore to describe them in the words of a late writer, a professed advocate for them, who, however loose his principles may be as a Catholic, (1) is a gentleman of veracity and intelligence, and to my knowledge, much considered and consulted by the personages he alludes to. What he professes to prove is the necessity of a Ministerial controul over the appointment of Catholic Bishops, from the arguments which he has collected in his "communications with persons of elevated rank and of great natural endowments," and what he says is this: "I will state the grounds, as I have collected them, on which this requisition has proceeded, which in consequence of late proceedings in Ireland, is now strenuously maintained, and not likely ever to be relinquished.—They (the distinguished personages) have frequently argued with me in support of this impression, from the tenacity manifested by so many, as they contend, of our clergy in a pertinacious adherence to *matters of a most trifling importance*;"—[Almost the whole of our Ritual passes for matter of the "most trifling importance" with Protestants. Hence we are to suppose that the first operation of the Veto will be to make the Episcopal candidate sign its condemnation, previously to his appointment]—"from their indisposition to adopt any measures calculated to conciliate the ideas of Protestants" [I cannot guess at the meaning of

(1) "Two Memoirs on the Catholic Question. By John Joseph Dillon, Esq. March 31, 1810." See Appendix, G.

his requisition, unless that the candidate should renounce the sign of the cross, abstinence, and celibacy] —“ from the anxiety of certain distinguished ecclesiastics to revive, on all occasions, the spirit of controversy, and their fondness of recurring to former ages;” [aye, there’s the rub; now it so happens, that in every remarkable controversy between Catholics and Protestants, which has taken place in England or in Ireland during the last thirty years, the latter have been the aggressors, the former the defendants; still we are convinced that the Veto will have the effect of preventing both distinguished and undistinguished Catholic clergymen from publishing upon religious controversy, or even upon ecclesiastical antiquities, when it is established by law] —“ The prejudices of Protestants to the Catholic Doctrine of Confession, and the mistaken ideas of the influence which they conceive, through that practice, to be obtained by the clergy over the minds of the laity,” [Yes, it is natural to expect that the controul in question will produce a long list of political *reserved cases*, and lay a ministerial embargo on absolutions: for it is obvious, these *may* more immediately relate to the civil power than Episcopal consecrations do] —“ the high notions which are maintained by the Bishops of Episcopal power over the inferior clergy, and the predilection of the Irish Catholic Prelacy, as also of the Vicars Apostolic at various periods, in favour of extravagant opinions respecting Papal authority” [So then, it seems, the whole of our ecclesiastical constitution is wrong, and one object of the Veto is to reform its too Monarchical and aristocratical form, (1) by a due mixture of Presbyterian democracy!] —“ All these considerations raise in these (their distinguished person-

(1) The Assembly of French Prelates, held in 1728, declare as follows: “ The Church, according to our Doctors, is a spiritual monarchy mixed with aristocracy.”

“ages) minds objections not easily to be removed, and
 “combine to render the difficulty of acceding to Ca-
 “tholic Emancipation insuperable, without adequate
 “security against an abuse of influence in the Catholic
 “Prelacy over their flocks.”

Here then, my brethren, you have from the lips of an intelligent, well-informed man, who speaks in the hearing of the distinguished personages he alludes to, a clear, explicit account, and one that bears with it its intrinsic evidence, of the nature, meaning, and objects of that Royal controul over the appointment of your Pastors, which is described as the hinge on which your civil Emancipation turns. You clearly see that it is not an additional security for the loyalty of our Prelates which is required (in fact, it is absolutely impossible to bind them faster by any moral or religious chains, in this respect, than they are bound already) but a right of interfering in, and actually controuling whatever is most important, sacred, and confidential in our religion, on the part of Protestant Ministers. After suttering above two centuries of active persecution for your religion, will you, in these calamitous days, purchase a few civil distinctions for yourselves at the price of her degradation, thralldom, and final ruin? And do you expect from me, your sentinel, to shut either my eyes or my mouth at the approach of such evils?

Some persons will here say:—But we are assured from high authority that no religious changes will be required at our hands, except such as are consistent with our tenets and discipline: and I perceive that many of you fancy that, previously to the introduction of any Bill into Parliament concerning the arrangements in question, the Catholic Bishops will be called together and consulted by the legislative Committees, as to their bearing upon our tenets and discipline. Hence they think that I am too hasty in sounding an

alarm against them.—Mistaken, fond notion!—"The legislature," as Lord Erskine expressly told us, speaking to this very point, in the late debate, "does not treat with subjects;" nor was there, on that occasion, the most distant hint thrown out by the members of either House, as to any sort of weight or consequence attached to the judgment of Catholic Bishops more than to that of other individuals.—How often have I heard this or similar language from our very best friends in the legislature:—"We are competent to make laws without your consent:—We will enact what is fair, as we are persuaded the unrestricted Veto is, which, if you will not consent to, you must take the consequences!" To these threats I have answered: "I grant you are possessed of a strong weapon; but we are possessed of one still stronger;—*we have learnt from our ancestors to suffer for our Religion.*"—In this disposition of emancipating Catholics by persecuting them, our legislators are confirmed by too many loose anti-clerical members of our own communion. Give ear to the language which one of these, the same who has been cited above, addresses to them. Speaking of the plan of a Bill for arranging the mode of exercising the Veto, the merit of devising which he claims for himself, he says:—"I am convinced that it is only by a *Legislative Enactment* that the settlement on which the parties may agree can be effectually established." (1) The writer then undertakes to prove that neither the Catholic Prelates, nor the Pope, ought to be consulted in the business, and concludes as follows:—"Under these circumstances, I cannot avoid thinking that the only sure course of proceeding, and one which will tend to prevent any controversy, and any confusion of principle, would be a *Legislative Enactment*, such as I have suggested." The plain sense of this

(1) J. J. Dillon's two Memoirs.—Appendix. p. 31.

modern Catholic's advice to his Parliamentary friends is this:—"Here is my plan for arranging the appointment of our Bishops. Pass it into a law at once; and do not consult the Catholics, either clergy or laity, about it. This is the only way to prevent their disputing, and the only way to establish the principle of your supreme controul over their Church discipline!" No, my brethren, should political events take that turn which they are likely to take, a Bill for your Civil Emancipation, but for the spiritual bondage of your Religion, will be carried through the two Houses: there will be no consultation either of Prelates or of the body at large, on the part of the Parliamentary Committees; but the same layman who introduced the condemned theological oath, of 1791, to the legislature, will again, by himself or his agents, answer for our tenets, our discipline, our Bishops and Clergy, and our laity. In the mean time, Columbanus and a host of other time-serving theologues, (1) will contend that all has been done conformably to ancient discipline and the existing Canon law. The consequences of this must be persecution, schism, and the loss of very many souls, on this side of St. George's Channel, and the increase, in an hundred fold, of every evil which our Statesmen profess to remedy on the other side of it.

2. I have abundantly proved my first proposition, namely, that "there is a settled plan, formed by eminent Statesmen, and promoted by the general disposition of the legislature, and the efforts of some Catholics, to introduce changes into our Church-discipline, incompatible with its safety and integrity." I now proceed to prove my second assertion: "That what is called the 5th Resolution was intended by its framers, and is calculated to express a disposition in the Catholics who signed it, to acquiesce in these

(1) See Appendix, H.

“changes.”—The material part of the Resolution in question stands thus: “Resolved, that the English Roman Catholics are firmly persuaded that adequate provision for *the maintenance* of the Civil and *Religious establishments* of this kingdom may be made consistently with the strictest adherence on their part, to the tenets and discipline of the Roman Catholic Religion, and that any arrangement founded on this basis of mutual satisfaction and security, and extending to them the full enjoyment of the Civil constitution of their country, *will meet with their grateful concurrence.*”

This Resolution, it is to be observed, was drawn up by Lord Grenville, in conjunction with Lord Grey, and is copied, almost word for word, from a passage in the celebrated Letter of the former to Lord Fingal. From these and other circumstances, which need not be stated, it is plain that the nature of the pledge contained in the Resolution is to be sought for in the letter. Once then again, what says this Letter? That “with civil rights must be combined extensive and complicated arrangements—for the inviolable maintenance of the *Religious* and Civil *establishments* of this United Kingdom—that among these measures was one for vesting in the Crown an *EFFECTUAL negative on the appointment of Bishops*, and that this object may be reconciled with the strictest adherence on our part to our religious tenets.”—What his Lordship means by an *effectual negative* is plain from its avowed object, the security of the Established Church, from his dwelling on the *substantial purposes* of it, and from Sir John Hippisley’s note on his own printed Sketch of a Bill, (1) namely, an *unrestricted negative*. In further proof that the Resolution alludes to an acquiescence in the proposed negative on the appointment of Bishops, I may add,

(1) See Appendix to Sir John’s Speech, second Edition, p. 9.

that this object was expressly mentioned in the first draft of it, as it stood down to one or two days before the Meeting at the St. Alban's Tavern, when a certain Gentleman who was deeply pledged to the Irish Catholics that no such matter should be brought forward at it, obtained the reluctant consent of our Noble friends that it should not be *expressly mentioned*. It was from a deep persuasion that an acquiescence in this and other innovations, if required by the legislature, was implied in the 5th Resolution, that the venerable Irish Hierarchy, assembled in synod, declared, on the 26th of last February, after five days deliberation, "in the name of Christ, and with God alone before their eyes" that it was right in their agent to oppose what they call "a vague, indefinite Declaration or Resolution, pledging Roman Catholics to an eventual acquiescence in arrangements, possibly prejudicial to the integrity and safety of our Church-discipline." — Now, my Brethren, you are to observe, that though the Irish Catholic Bishops have no jurisdiction in this country; yet, pronouncing as they here do, *upon a doctrinal matter*; namely, upon a form of words, which, if *sound and safe* for a Catholic to subscribe in one country, is equally so in another, they are an authority, and the highest authority we can now look up to, for forming our opinions upon the subject in question, particularly in the silence of the Vicars Apostolic. And, observe, it ever has been the practice of the Catholic Churches, when any new proposition, relating to the common Religion, has been broached, to consult the opinion of other Catholic Churches concerning it.

I have other objections to the 5th Resolution, which it is of consequence here to state. I object to the *competency* of the persons mentioned in it, namely, *The English Roman Catholics*, consisting of *all the men, women, and children* of our body, to pronounce

what is or may be consistent with the tenets and discipline of the Catholic religion. The Irish laity were so well instructed on this head, that, when this same Resolution was transmitted to them, for their approbation, they adjourned their meeting for several days, to allow leisure for their Bishops to decide upon it. — Again, I cannot reconcile it to my conscience to express the most distant approbation of provisions to be made by legislators of another religion, for the security of that religion, without being able to form an exact judgment as to what these provisions will be. The last time, the legislature pronounced upon this subject was, in *An Act for preserving the Protestant Religion, by better securing the Church of England*, 10 Anne, cap. 2. By this act, it was prohibited to frequent other places of worship than those of the Established Church, and it was required that persons should receive the Sacrament.—It would also be of consequence to me to know which religion was intended to be secured, whether, for example, the Old Reformation of Cranmer, consisting of the 39 Articles, the Creeds, including that of St. Athanasius, &c. or that new “*Silent Reformation*,” which the Divinity Professor of Cambridge,(1) and almost all modern Divines, represent as having supplanted the other, and which openly disregards the former essentials.

Another capital objection to the Resolution is, that no good and well instructed Catholic can concur to the maintenance of what he is bound to consider as an act of schism; much less can he concur in shackling and weakening his own Church for this particular purpose. Nor is it a single Religious Establishment, but the whole collection of Religious Establishments in this United Kingdom, which Catholics are

(1) See the Divinity Lectures of Professor Hey, vol. ii. p. 48. et passim; also the Sermons of Dr. Sturges, Dr. Baulguy, Bishop Hoadley, Bishop Clayton, &c.

called upon in this Resolution to concur in maintaining. Amongst these is that of the Protestant Charter Schools in Ireland, instituted and supported, at an immense expense of the nation, to buy up the children of poor Catholics, in order to educate them in the most violent prejudices against, and hatred of the religion in which they were baptized, and of the professors of it ; (1) I would submit to the decision even of any respectable governor of these schools, whether it is consistent or conscientious in a Catholic to concur towards their maintenance.

These objections are not at all removed by the clause in the Resolution, purporting that the provisions in question for these establishments are to be made “ consistently with the strictest adherence on our “ part to the tenets and discipline of the R. Catholic “ Religion ;” because, as I have said before, the same legislators who will judge what is necessary for the security of the Protestant Establishments, will, in point of fact, likewise *decide what is consistent with Catholic discipline*. Lord Grenville, whilst he professes, in his letter, to consult our *reasonable prejudices*, reserves to himself the right of judging what prejudices of ours *are and are not reasonable*. The same Noble Lord, while he promises that the arrangements shall be “ consistent with our tenets and discipline,” at the same time assumes that the grand subject of debate, the *effectual Veto*, is one of this nature, I say the same with respect to “ the basis of mutual security,” on which many Catholics are led to expect the arrangements will be founded. The truth is, Parliament alone will authoritatively decide what is a sufficient security on both sides ; and those members of it, on whose exertions there was the most reason to rely for justice being done to us, have already declared openly for the unlimited Veto ; they have even testified in my hearing,

(1) See the Charter School Catechism.

that they should consider our Religion as *sufficiently safe*, if the whole unrestricted Veto were immediately put into the hands of Mr Percival himself!—But was there ever before such an instance of inconsistency as to profess a respect for Catholic discipline, and at the same time to violate the very foundation of it; by summoning a promiscuous multitude at a Tavern, to pronounce upon, and to promise their concurrence in an alteration of that discipline, without taking the least notice of the Prelates, who alone are competent to judge and to act with relation to it!

More than enough has been said, to shew that the 5th Resolution was intended, and is calculated to pledge the subscribing Catholics to an acquiescence in the different arrangements alluded to in Lord Grenville's letter, and to the *effectual controul* in particular; but, in further proof of this assertion, let me refer you to the terms in which it was introduced into the House of Peers, on the 22d of last February, by one of its Noble framers, who is, at the same time, the representative of the English Catholics there. I shall give them as they are published in *The British Press Newspaper*, which print is well known to be directed by the English Catholic agents in all matters relating to the Catholic body or religion. The *Morning Chronicle* agrees in substance with it.

Having described the merits and sufferings of the English Catholics in the loftiest terms of animated eloquence, Earl Grey proceeds, “And, my Lords, I
 “have, in making this statement, the satisfaction of
 “being authorized to add, that while they pray for
 “relief, *they* (the English Catholics) *are willing to*
 “accept it, accompanied with such provisions, not
 “contrary to their feelings, as you may think necessary
 “to the security of your own establishment, and that
 “any arrangement on this basis will be thankfully
 “accepted by them. The declaration of what I

“ *have stated*, is contained in the Second Petition
 “ which I have presented to your Lordships. It was
 “ adopted lately at a Meeting in the Metropolis, and
 “ is signed by several Bishops, and by no less than six
 “ Peers. I am persuaded you will think that *such*
 “ *conduct* entitles their petition to an impartial and fa-
 “ vourable consideration: but I will say further, that it
 “ is *on the principle stated in this petition, alone, and*
 “ *with a view to arrangements such as I have described,*
 “ that the measure has my support.—In extending to
 “ them the enjoyment of civil liberty, I consider it as
 “ not existing in an exemption from all restraint
 “ whatever, but from all restraint other than *what the*
 “ *common interest and safety of our own Establish-*
 “ *ments essentially and indispensibly require.*—With
 “ regard to other considerations which affect this ques-
 “ tion, it is not my purpose now to trouble your
 “ Lordships. I am content to refer myself to the
 “ excellent Letter of my Noble friend, to *every letter,*
 “ *principle, and word of which I beg to be considered*
 “ *as implicitly subscribing.*”—Read over again, my
 brethren, these important extracts; the more you
 weigh them, the more deeply you will be convinced
 that the Noble framer of the Petition did calculate and
 consider it, and that he taught the other Peers to con-
 sider it as a pledge, on the part of the subscribers, of
 their accepting with thankfulness, of whatever arrange-
 ments, and particularly of the effectual negative, men-
 tioned in Lord Grenville’s Letter, which a Protestant
 Legislature might think necessary to the security of
 their own religion, provided only that these arrange-
 ments were *not contrary to the feelings* of the sub-
 scribers, without any question regarding the tenets or
 discipline of the Catholic Church. Alas! religious
 feelings are very dull at this time of day.

It is plain that the agents of the Catholic Board
 considered their noble Representative as pledging the

subscribers in the face of Parliament, to an extent which they did not dare to avow, before the Catholic body, by the bold and unwarrantable step they took in mutilating and altering it, in its essential parts, first in the **GLOBE** Newspaper, which is a second edition of the **BRITISH PRESS**, under a different title, and equally subject with it to their correction, and secondly to a much greater extent, in a new and neat folio edition of it, which has been circulated of late throughout the Catholic body, with the two *Petitions*. I blush at being obliged to expose such a series of frauds, on the part of any Catholic. But, indeed, these are but a few among many others of the same sort. (1) What adds to the effrontery of the imposition is, that this new edition is printed under the following title: “Speech of the Right Hon. Earl Grey, on his presenting the English R. Catholic Petition to the House of Lords, **AS REPORTED IN THE GLOBE PAPER.**” The three editions then of this Speech, given by the Catholic editors, that is to say, those of *The Press*, *The Globe*, and the *New Folio*, agree word for word, throughout the whole first page, and half the second page of the last mentioned, that is to say, throughout the whole matter which does not regard the presumed sense of the Catholics, and the sense of Earl Grey, with respect to the Resolution in question. When this subject occurs, instead of saying that the Catholics are “willing to accept of such provisions *not contrary to their feelings, as you may think necessary to the security of your own establishment*; and that an arrangement on this basis will be thankfully accepted by them (as the passage stands in *The Press* and *The Globe* which latter they tell you they follow) instead of this they make his Lordship say, “that the Catholics are “willing to accept of such provisions for the maintenance of the civil and religious establishments of this

(1) See Appendix, I.

“ kingdom as may be made consistently with a strict
 “ adherence, on their part, to the tenets and discipline of
 “ the R. Catholic religion, and that any arrangement
 “ founded on this basis of mutual satisfaction and se-
 “ curity, will meet with their grateful concurrence !”

Lord Grey continues in *The Press* and *The Globe* :—

“ This declaration of *what I have stated* is contained
 “ in the Second Petition which I have presented to
 “ your Lordships—and is *signed by several Bishops,*
 “ *and no less than six Peers.*”—The agents judged
 rightly that orthodox Catholics, and the Bishops
 and Peers in particular, would not like to be bound by
 what Lord Grey actually said, and therefore in this
 their new edition, they artfully changed the particle
This into *The*, and quite suppressed the clauses, printed
 in *Italics*. Describing his own ideas of civil liberty,

the Noble advocate says, in *The Press* and *The Globe* :

“ In extending to them the enjoyment of civil liberty, I
 “ consider it as not existing in an exemption from all
 “ restraint whatever, but from all restraint other than
 “ the common interest and safety of our own establish-
 “ ments essentially and indispensibly require.”—This
 declaration, which implies that our religion is to be
 restrained by the proposed arrangements, not only as
 far as the *safety* but also as far as the *interest* of the ex-
 isting establishments may seem to require, appeared of
 too alarming a tendency for the minds of true Catholics,
 and accordingly our daring castigator thus alters his
 Lordship’s words and sense in the late edition :—In
 “ maintaining the doctrine of religious liberty, in favour
 “ of Catholics, I am persuaded I cannot maintain it
 “ on other grounds than those on which civil liberty
 “ itself is founded : neither consisting in an absolute
 “ exemption from all restraint whatever, but in being
 “ subject to no restraint but such as the common in-
 “ terest and the common safety, rationally and im-
 “ partially considered, may appear to require.”—

Compare together these two passages, the one from *The Globe*, the other from the late edition for the use of Catholics (and remember that the editor tells you that *the latter is copied from the former*) in order to comprehend the grossness of imposition which some men are in the habit of practising upon you, in the dearest concerns of your religion! There are other important changes, or mutilations, among the three above-mentioned Catholic editions of Lord Grey's speech, in explanation of the 5th Resolution. One of these consists in expunging the explicit declaration of Lord Grey's "subscription to every letter, word, and principle of Lord Grenville's Letter." This is one of the instances in which *The Press* and *The Globe* differ, and which, therefore, took place between the morning and the noon of the 23d of February last. At the breakfast-hour of that day, in revising *The British Press*, it was deemed unsafe to let the Catholics of the Provinces in England, and still more to let the Population of Ireland know that Lord Grey had publicly approved of Lord Grenville's Letter; and therefore it was ordered not to appear in *The Globe* for the afternoon. A still more essential suppression was then also ordered, to be made in *The Globe* Report, which I shall hereafter take notice of.

Before I close this article, I must briefly refute two or three pretexts, which have been set up in favour of the 5th Resolution.—One person says, "I care not what meaning Protestants put upon the Resolution: I know my own meaning, and that meaning is strictly correct." Not care what meaning the persons whom you are treating with, what meaning the Legislature itself understand your compacts with them in?—I should be sorry that so plausible a ground for renewing the old charge against us of equivocation could be traced to any respectable member of our body. We have hitherto taught that compacts are to

be made and signed in the sense of the proposer.—Another says, the Resolution engages for nothing more than that we are in a disposition “to treat with Parliament about future arrangements.” I have already proved from reason and from authority, that the Legislature does not treat with its subjects. The utmost it will do, in condescension to your religious objections, is to hear what some friendly member may say on behalf of them; but those to whom you might look up, with the greatest confidence for that assistance, have beforehand told you, as I have already reminded you, that your objections are frivolous, and that the unlimited Veto, and the new Office of Inquisition, are strictly conformable to your own tenets and discipline.

A third person asks thus: “Well, supposing improper arrangements take place; who will enact them but the Legislators? How shall I be accountable, either to the Church here, or to God hereafter, for their acts and deeds?”—I answer: Most certainly to them both; while these legislators hold in their hands your unexplained Petition, which encourages and fautors the execution of them: But this is not all; for you pledge yourself actually *to concur in these arrangements*, for the purpose of *giving security* to the Charter schools of Ireland, among other religious establishments!

3. I proceed now to the third and more pleasing part of my subject, in as much as it tends to a right understanding and, as I hope, a general reconciliation, upon a right basis, among the different parties concerned. In doing this, I shall have the satisfaction of precisely doing what some respectable friends of mine have called upon me to do.—I say then that, whatever is the natural sense of the 5th Resolution, and in whatever sense it is understood by the legislature or others, it is not, in point of fact, a pledge or

promise on the part of the English Catholics at large, or even of the greater part of the subscribers to it, and least of all on the part of the three Vicars Apostolic, and their two Coadjutors, to approve or accept of any civil controul over the appointment of Catholic Bishops, or of any other Parliamentary arrangement regarding the internal œconomy and concerns of our Holy Religion. I will prove this important assertion, as to each of its three parts.

It is no pledge or promise on the part of the Catholic body at large. Not one in a hundred of their clergy or other respectable members were so much as informed that a Meeting of Catholics was to be held on the 1st of February, or knew that there was any question about a Second Petition, till they saw in the Newspapers that such an instrument had been presented to Parliament by Lord Grey and Mr. Windham. On the other hand, it is matter of notoriety, that they have never chosen any sort of agents to transact their public business since the dissolution of the Committee, almost twenty years ago. True it is that a set of lay Catholic gentlemen formed themselves into a controversial club, under the name of *The Board*, about three years ago, for the purpose of opposing Dr. Duigenan, the Anti-Jacobin Reviewers, and other writers of that description: but this Board never was considered as representing the Catholics of England.(1)—But to make short of the matter; the agents of this association, being the very individuals who have the management of *The Press* and *Globe* Newspaper, in all that relates to Catholic affairs, acknowledged, down to the 23d of last February, the day after the Second Petition, containing the 5th Resolution, was presented, that it “was not
“the general act of the English Catholics, but only of
“a certain number of them;” these being the iden-

(1). See Appendix, L.

tical words of a note annexed to their Report of Earl Grey's speech, in the first *Press* edition of their Newspaper for that day. It seems, however, that on the above-mentioned morning, the Director of the Board and of the Newspaper resolved that the Second Petition should from that time forward be, and be considered, as *the general act of English Catholics*. According^{ly} he cancelled their note for the second, or *Globe* edition, at the same time that he cancelled Earl Grey's avowal of Lord Grenville's Letter; and now he has the confidence to publish that Second Petition in his late edition, under the following title:—"Accompanying Petition of THE ENGLISH R. CATHOLICS, as resolved upon at THEIR Meeting, on the 1st of February, 1810!"

It is equally well known to the hundred individuals, or thereabout, who met, on the above-mentioned day, at the St. Alban's Tavern, that, in signing this Second Petition, they were led to believe by various assurances and explanations, made to them by persons in whom they placed implicit confidence, that, in signing the Petition, they were not to enter into any pledge whatever, either absolute or conditional, but barely to shew what was called, a spirit of conciliation. I can testify, for myself, that the arguments then and there made use of by respectable persons, who had recently treated with the Noble framers of the Resolution, to induce me to sign it, were these: "It means nothing: it is nothing but a mere compliment."—Now then, at the hazard of Dr. Duigenan's impeaching my casuistry a second time before the House of Commons, I am bold to assert that, when one or more persons are unaware drawn in by some studied, artificial form of words, or by false glosses and explanations, to enter into a pledge to their great detriment, it is lawful for them, on discovering the deception, before they have derived any actual benefit

from the bargain, to withdraw their assent from it. Without some maxim to this effect, every plain man might be engaged by an artful man to sell his inheritance for a mess of pottage.

Upon the same kind of ground, but upon one greatly stronger, I assert that the three Vicars Apostolic, and their two Coadjutors, notwithstanding they signed the 5th Resolution, and notwithstanding the natural and the Parliamentary sense of it is such as I have stated, are not, in fact, pledged to admit of a civil controul over the appointment of Catholic Bishops, or of any other arrangement, on the part of the State, with respect to the interior œconomy and discipline of our Church. For, first, they were all of them notoriously deceived, and this, not by vague and popular rumours, like most of the persons above-mentioned, but by the positive assurance of absolutely false facts on the part of persons of great credit. It was an irreparable misfortune that the English Prelates did not meet in Synod, to deliberate and resolve in common "without any lay intervention"(1) on this momentous concern of our Holy Religion, as the Irish Prelates did, who, after five days deliberation. pronounced, "in the sight of God, and in the name of "Christ,"(2) those truly Apostolical Resolutions, to the number of 17, which, with their Encyclical Letter to all the Bishops in the world, will shine so bright in the Annals of the Church, till the end of it. Had we so met, and communicated to each other our information and opinions, (you see here, in part, what I had to say in defense of my opinion) or if even we three Vicars Apostolic, with the one Coadjutor then on the spot, had conferred together, I am confident we should have decided and acted in concert, not only

(1) See The first Resolution in the Address of the Irish Prelates, published in the Appendix to Sir John Hippisley's Speech, p. 15.

—(2) Ibid.

with each other, but also with the venerable Hierarchy of Catholic Ireland. But, unfortunately for the cause of Religion, my efforts for this purpose proved ineffectual, and it is a fact that, of the three Vicars Apostolic, who signed the second Petition, no two signed on the same occasion. One of these Vicars, and one of the coadjutors, have declared in print, that the precise motive which determined them to sign it at the St. Alban's Tavern, without waiting for an Episcopal Meeting, as they had resolved to do, was, because a respectable personage there present "told one" of them that I had declared, in his presence, in public "company, on the last day of January, that I would not act in this business, as Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District, and that I should only act as agent of Ireland."—Some people will think it was natural to have asked me, who was then actually in the room, though not within hearing of the conversation; whether or no I had made this declaration, and whether I persisted in it? But, be that matter as it may; since it is ascertained that this report of the respectable person was the determining cause of the two Prelates signing without waiting for an Episcopal Meeting, I solemnly protest, that *I never did make any such declaration*, either as to the terms or the sense of it; and I maintain, that the whole of my language and conduct, on the last of January, as well as on the first of February, proved that I was acting the part of an English Vicar Apostolic, no less than that of an Agent to my brethren in Ireland. Thus it is demonstrated, that one Vicar Apostolic and one Coadjutor Bishop were deceived, or * * * * * into the subscription. Another of my English Brethren, whose health did not permit him to attend the meeting, of February 1st, signed his name the next day, upon the representation and after the example of the Prelates above alluded to. Thus his cause stands precisely upon the same ground

with theirs. But still our respective numbers were, for several days, equally balanced, inasmuch as the Northern Vicar Apostolic, with his Coadjutor, continued to write to me by every post, in condemnation of the Resolution, and in approbation of my conduct in opposing it: when, behold, fresh falsehoods, of the most extraordinary kind, were transmitted to those gentlemen, to bring them up to London, on the part of men, whose main object was to get Bishops to sign the instrument of their own thralldom. Being arrived there, the precise falsehood which operated to this effect, as the former afterwards told me, was a positive assurance, on the part of respectable personages, that the Lords Grenville and Grey had explained the Resolution in the opposite sense to that which they have ever publicly professed, by their pens and by their tongues. The five English Prelates then were, each of them, deceived in this important transaction by downright specific falsehoods, (a misfortune to which the most sensible men are liable) and it is a certain fact, which falls within my own knowledge, that more persons than one have boasted of this their irreligious over-reaching.

To come now to something more positive and conclusive on this head: it is a fact, that since the negative interference was first mentioned in Parliament, in May, 1808, I have never ceased to receive letters from one or other of my brethren, complaining of the share which I had in that business, though this consisted in nothing more than in giving my opinion upon a question proposed to me, and in devising effectual checks for confining that negative (if it should take place) to mere civil purposes. For, God knows, there never was an instant of my life, since I came to the use of reason, in which I would not have lost my life rather than be concerned in giving either power or influence over any part of the Catholic Church to any

Un-catholic person or persons whomsoever. It will be seen below, that the ten Irish Prelates are also reproached to this day, by my English brethren, with having assented to a similar project in 1799; notwithstanding they expressly stipulated for their "just influence" or controuling power in the business; and though they are known to have assented to the plan under a conviction that their religion by means of it was to be effectually protected and established in their country.—But to wave this whole matter: let it pass that the Irish Prelates and myself have been less watchful over the discipline and independence of the Catholic Church than some other Prelates, provided I can shew that we *all of us now concur* in defending them from the open attacks and secret treachery to which they are exposed. I am happy to be able to say, that it is actually in my power to shew this, at the present alarming crisis of our Religion. It will appear evident by the following extracts, from Official Letters lately written by the English to the Irish Prelates, in explanation of their meaning, in signing the 5th Resolution. I have to observe, that it had been made known to the former, that all English letters on this subject would be transmitted to me, and I have myself signified to some of the writers my intention of making use of these extracts, to which measure they have not objected. The first of these letters is without a date, but bears the London post-mark of August 9. In this the five English Prelates say: "We have had nothing to do with *The Veto*, but to CONDEMN AND REJECT IT. Indeed for Vicars Apostolic, as such, to stipulate for a Veto, or to offer to the Crown any interference, positive or negative, in the appointment, would be as absurd as it would be ineffectual. We lament that the Irish Prelates, or their Agent, have had any concern in the Veto. And we think it particularly unjust, that the odium

“ of it should now be thrown from them who were
 “ concerned in it, upon us who **GROUND**ED OUR
 “ **RESOLUTION ON THE REJECTION OF IT.**
 “ We cannot too much lament that, by the 4th and
 “ 5th indefinite Resolutions of ten Irish **PRELATES,**
 “ Ministers should have been taught, that it is not
 “ contrary to the integrity and safety of our Church-
 “ discipline, that a Protestant Government should
 “ have a negative in the appointment of Catholic
 “ Bishops.” In another common letter, dated August
 29, the same Prelates say : “ If it be true that Lords
 “ Grenville and Grey had any arrangement in contem-
 “ plation, relative to a Veto, or to any measures
 “ inconsistent with the integrity and safety of the R.
 “ Catholic Religion, we declare, that we consider such
 “ arrangements as foreign to the obvious and natural
 “ meaning of the Resolution which we have signed ;
 “ that no such arrangements were proposed to us, or
 “ *understood* by us ; consequently that we are not in
 “ any respect pledged by them ; on the contrary, that,
 “ by the very terms of our Resolution, we are free to
 “ reject them, and **SHOULD ABSOLUTELY RE-**
 “ **JECT THEM, IF PROPOSED TO US.**”—
 This is enough, and more than enough, for the im-
 portant purposes which I have in view. Whatever
 the Noble Lords, named above, may say to these ex-
 tracts, they give me entire satisfaction, and I have
 reason to believe they will equally satisfy the Catholic
 Prelates and Clergy of Ireland. Read over these
 important extracts again, and observe particularly that
 the English Catholic Bishops assure those of Ireland,
 that they have already “ rejected and condemned the
 “ Veto,” speaking absolutely and indiscriminately of
 every kind of Veto, and even reproaching my con-
 stituents and me with having been concerned in that
 strictly limited species of it which I have explained
 before. Take notice, also, that they even “ ground

“their resolution (the 5th Resolution) on the rejection of it.”—However difficult it may be to comprehend the fact, yet the terms speak strongly the meaning of the Prelates in signing the Resolution.—They add that, “if the Lords Grenville and Grey (who are known to have drawn up the Resolution) had any arrangement in contemplation, relative to the Veto, they (the English Prelates) would absolutely reject them, if proposed to them.”—It was my earnest and frequently expressed wish, that some such declaration should have been made public, by the party concerned, nine or ten months ago. However, thanks be to God, it still comes in time, and I am truly happy in having it in my power now to publish it: trusting in the Divine goodness that it will be attended with the following effects.

In the first place, the Catholics of these islands, who have been astonished and afflicted at the notorious fact of a dissention having taken place between three English Vicars Apostolic and their two Coadjutors, on one side, and about thirty Irish Prelates, with one English Vicar Apostolic, on the other, relative to a solemn Resolution, subscribed and presented to the two Houses of Parliament, by the former, and rejected, as highly dangerous to their religion, by the latter these Catholics, I say, will be consoled beyond measure, at learning from the present publication, that an explanation between the parties has taken place, and that, one and all, they are resolved and pledged to each other, not to consent to any arrangements respecting a Veto, or other controul over the appointment of their future colleagues, upon which measure all the other projected changes are known to depend. Thus every real ground of dissention amongst all these Prelates is happily removed.

In the next place, this intelligence being waisted, as it soon will be, to the Continents and Islands of the Old

and New Worlds; will be a subject of joy and edification to our Catholic brethren throughout the whole Church. We may indulge the hope that it will even reach the ears of our good and edifying Father, in his sequestered confinement, and that it will prove a second cordial to his afflicted mind, after the plentiful exhilaration he has derived from "The Address of the Irish Prelates to their flocks," and from their "Evangelical Letter to all the Bishops in the World," both dated February 26, in the present year. Yes, his venerable eyes will overflow with tears of joy when he finds that no worldly allurements have been able to induce us, for the moment, separated as we now are, & torn from his supporting arm, to betray the independence of Christ's free spouse to one great political power, no more than the severity of persecution has been able to make him betray it to the other.

Lastly, though our Parliamentary friends, for want of taking due counsel, will find themselves grievously mistaken in their calculations, and though they may perhaps begin to moderate their resentment against me and my brethren in Ireland, by allowing that we have acted a consistent part; yet they will be glad that they have discovered their mistake before they commit themselves further with Parliament and the public. In fact, they will conclude from this unanimous pledge of the Catholic Prelates of both Islands not to admit of any Un-catholic controul over the internal œconomy and concerns of their religion, that the thousands of Catholics in England, including the great majority of their Nobility and Gentry, no less than the millions of Catholics in Ireland, will freely forego every temporal advantage, and suffer every extremity of suffering rather than yield to it. I know there are amongst us, as may be naturally supposed, some persons who are ready to run all risks of their religion and of their souls, in order to obtain a few

temporal distinctions and advantages, but these are persons of the *Catholic party* rather than of the *Catholic Religion*: and I hope and believe they are not more numerous than might be enclosed in the Tavern room where we met on the 1st of February.

On the other hand, it would be a libel on those illustrious Statesmen to say that they will abandon a grand State measure, upon which they have, a thousand times over, proclaimed the salvation of the British Empire, and that of the Established Church along with it, absolutely to depend, because Catholics will not abandon their ancient discipline; that discipline under which they have proved themselves faithful, that, under which they have been proclaimed loyal from the throne; that, under which they have three times over, in the present reign, received the most important Parliamentary favours. Nor can they, upon reflection, be angry with us because we cannot consent to a proposal which, at no time or place, was ever made by one set of religionists to another, namely, to weaken themselves in order to strengthen their rivals. No; such conduct can never be supposed of men of their character; it would have the appearance of private passion rather than of public virtue. They will therefore carry the emancipation into effect in the only method which can answer its intended purposes; that is to say, by leaving the Catholics their religion (the religion of the Alfreds, the Edwards, and the Barons of Magna Charta) as we ourselves understand it, and are invincibly attached to it. With respect to the persons from whose jealousy all the present difficulties proceed (as all the uproar about the Coronation Oath heretofore proceeded) these great Statesmen will demonstrate to them where their real danger, and where their best security lie. They will convince them that it is more for the safety of the Established Church, to save four millions a year, and to have an additional

150,000 men, fighting for the King and Constitution; than to enjoy the most absolute controul over thirty Catholic Bishops; that goose-quills are not so alarming as French cannons, and that a whole dozen of adverse controvertists are less to be dreaded by them than a single Napoleon.

The only inconvenience that is likely to arise from the present publication is, that it will destroy some long-laboured double-faced deceptions of certain ingenious gentlemen, whom, for want of another name, I call the Catholic Agents, just as “The Plain Statement of Facts” brushed down their cobweb devices, of the same structure, in 1791. But as these gentlemen, I really believe, are by no means so anxious about the substance of the desired Act, as about the honour of carrying some one Act, in favour of the Catholic body, through Parliament, and as Mr. Director himself has assured the Irish Catholics, in his Letter to the Dublin Evening Herald, since printed as a pamphlet, that “if the Emancipation can be carried with the Veto, it can be carried without it;” I hope they will have no objection to begin their work over again; and this on the immoveable basis of *truth and plain dealing*; in which case I shall be ready to assist the cause, as I have heretofore done; though I am well convinced that, in no shape, it promises any benefit to Catholic Churchmen.

The main conclusion to be drawn from the whole of what has been advanced is, that there is but one rational, consistent, and conscientious line of conduct for us to follow, in the present business, being the same that is marked out to us by our great Master, where he tells us: “Give to Cæsar the things which belong to Cæsar, and to God the things which belong to God.”(1)—Yes, mybrethren, give to your King and country your taxes, your contributions,

(1) See Appendix, M.

your prayers, your civil and military services, and, if necessary, your very lives: but give your souls to God, and keep your religion for yourselves. If Statesmen pretend to interfere with the latter, tell them that it is evident they know nothing about it, and therefore are unfit to reform it, in as much as they swear that it is *idolatrous*.—If they mention the cases of Silesia and Russian Poland, tell them that the Bishopricks in those countries are rich temporal baronies; but that our Bishopricks, consisting in nothing else but the exercise of spiritual functions and a spiritual jurisdiction, the very existence of which they do not acknowledge, but consider as merely imaginary, it is both absurd and unlawful for them to pretend to interfere with them. If they mention the see of Quebec, tell them that there has not been a single vacancy in that Bishoprick since Canada became subject to the English Crown. - If they tell you that the present Pope is, or that his successor may be, the tool of the common enemy; tell them that the glorious Pius VII. has descended from a throne to a dungeon, because he himself *will be free*, and because he is resolved that his successor also *shall be free* in the discharge of their sacred functions; make them sensible also, that, if the Pope were to become the enemy of this country, he could do it no injury, in as much as the Catholic Clergy, as well as laity, are bound to resist, and would actually resist, to the utmost of their power, all open force, and would denounce all secret fraud against the peace and welfare of the country.—If they say, that the Pope might send foreign Bishops to Ireland, tell them that the native Catholic Prelates would be the first to oppose any attempt of that nature; and that they themselves have already in their hands effectual means of preventing this, in the Alien Act and the Alien Office.—If they urge that the State has a right to interfere in the constitution and œconomy of your

religion; tell them you trust it will extend its regulation equally to other religions, differing from the establishment; for example, to the Quakers, who refuse their military and civil services to the State, to the Moravians, who deny they are subject to any law, human or divine, and who are governed by numerous Bishops in this country, appointed by other Bishops at Hurnuth, now subject to an Enemy; to the Jews, who are connected in blood as well as religion with other Jews, that have acknowledged the chief enemy for their Messiah; but above all, to the society of Freemasons, consisting of a great proportion of our Gentry and Nobility, and connected by solemn oaths and rites with foreign Freemasons, who are proved to have been the chief instruments in unhinging, of late, the political and moral world.—If they talk to you about a Royal Veto; tell them that the King already enjoys the benefit of one, in as much as the Catholic Bishops, who must know their own Clergy better than all the Ministers and Magistrates put together, are bound in duty, and by a solemn pledge, twice of late repeated and published by them, to promote no clergymen to the episcopal station, but persons of well-known loyalty and peaceable conduct: that these Bishops are his Majesty's sworn subjects, that they have again, the other day, (1) spontaneously pledged their souls to God, and their Characters to the whole Christian world, rather to lose their lives than violate their allegiance; and finally, which is most to the purpose, that they have proved their loyalty in the hour of trial. These are arguments which are not to be answered by suppositions and surmises, or by rhetorical flights and figures.—In case, however, these Statesmen persist in the inconsistent claim of interfering in the creation of an order of men, the very existence of whom they do

(1) See the Latin Encyclical Letter of the Irish Catholic Prelates, addressed to all the Bishops in the world.

not acknowledge, and of functions which they believe to be mere phantoms of the brain, you may safely challenge them to shew they can do this upon any other ground than such as would have excluded Jesus Christ and his Apostles from preaching the gospel, or sending a Canonical Epistle to our forefathers, when Cunobelinus was King of Britain, and Tiberius was Emperor of the Continent; you may justly reproach them with being more jealous than the tyrant Pontius Pilate, who, as soon as he understood our Saviour's kingdom not to be of this world, declared him innocent; and you may very truly protest, what is proved at large in this pamphlet, that, however glossed and disavowed, religious intolerance is the real principle of the present requisitions.

Nothing, my brethren, remains for us all, in this case, but to prepare ourselves to suffer persecution, like our ancestors:—"Blessed are you when they shall revile you, and persecute you, and speak all that is evil against you untruly for my sake. Be glad and rejoice, for very great is your reward in heaven." (1) —"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, be with you all. Amen."

J. M.—E. C. V. A. M. D.

Wolverhampton, Dec. 10, 1810.

(1) Matthew v. 11, 12.

POSTSCRIPT.

"AN Address to the Catholics of Ireland," from the pen of a *Catholic Priest*, has just been published in Dublin, the object of which is to disunite

his countrymen, in all matters of religious discipline, from the Apostolic centre of Unity, and from each other, by inducing the metropolitans to form, each one his own, system of discipline; in the course of which work he advances the most heterodox and schismatical opinions. If this writer really believed that his native Prelates were possessed of such extensive jurisdiction as he pretends, he would certainly submit to their unanimous Resolutions, of February 26th; but these he turns to ridicule! In short, he is one of those unhappy Catholics of the day, who, as St. Cyprian says: "*Intra septa Ecclesiæ contra Ecclesiam pugnant.*"—Another more respectable Priest of this country, from mere mistake, in supposing that every Prelate in the 19th century may resume the discipline of the 9th at his pleasure, advises, in print, the Metropolitans of Ireland to give institution to their suffragans, without the intervention of the H. See. To this advice the Irish Prelates have already answered; that both principle and sentiment "forbid them to take up, as spoils, any part of the right of the Apostolic See;" and the Holy P. Pius VI. has answered still more energetically, in a Brief, received by the whole Church: "*De jure* (institutionis) agitur, quod unice spectat ad Apostolicam sedem, juxta Tridentini Concilii sanctiones; quodque arrogare sibi à nemine potest, Episcoporum aut Metropolitanorum, quin nos, illo quo fungimur Apostolici Officii munere, declarare cogamur schismaticos esse tam eos qui confirmant quam eos qui confirmantur." *Br. Caritas quæ.* Ap. 13, 1791.

The noted Abbe Blanchard, after breaking communion with the Pope, and appealing from the decision of the English Prelates on this head to that of the Irish, with solemn promises of abiding by the latter, now that he finds himself unanimously condemned by them, Luther-like, challenges them to a controversy; and, by way of stimulating them, tells them that they

have intentionally revoked their Declaration against him in their late Address. But they know their station, and they know their duty. They will continue to exclude this wolf from their folds, and yet they will not dispute with him, not even for the purpose of proving that, though Bishops are not to be deposed without cession or condemnation, yet that Pius VII. has performed his duty in providing for the spiritual wants of a large portion of the Church, in the best manner that could be done, where the former Pastors were not in circumstances to perform it; exactly in the same manner as St. Gregory the Great acted in this country, with respect to its Sees and its Emigrant Clergy, 1200 years ago.—But it seems that another officious Abbè, of some such name as Tayhere, who, like Count Pfaff and A. B. himself, repays our past services to his cause with libels and insults, will not allow me to tell my flock that the man who tries to separate them from their head pastor is *a wolf*, nor to compare him with *Luther*, and he reads me a long public lecture on scandal and on charity. To this, I do not answer with the Doctor of Charity, St. Augustine: “Hæretici (adeoque schismatici) sunt *lupi*, qui conclamandi sunt, imo et conculcandi.” nor do I boast with his fellow champion, St. Jerum: “Fateor me nunquam hæreticis pepercisse, et omni studio egisse ut hostes Ecclesiæ, mei quoque hostes essent:” but I answer with another illustrious Doctor, St. Ambrose: “Hæc est Charitas expetenda, si fides tuta est;” and with the mellifluous and last Father of the Church, St. Bernard: “Cum carpuntur vitia, et inde scandalum oriatur, ipse sibi scandalum causa est qui facit quod argui debeat; non ille qui arguit. Denique non sum cautior in verbo, nec circumspectior in sensu, illo qui ait: *Melius est ut scandalum oriatur quam ut veritas relinquatur.*” Ad Suger. Ab.—With respect to my intimation of a wish (which is common to

me with the English Prelates, and which has been repeatedly and loudly expressed by those of Ireland) that the Venerable French Bishops in London, or some of them would, by a single line under their hands, put it out of the power of this disturber of our flocks, this *intruder*, who sets up a pretence, on their part, to independent jurisdiction in all our districts, to brag any longer (as he even does in a M. S. now preparing for the press) that he is *encouraged* and *approved* of (nay, on some occasions, that he is *paid*) by these of all living Bishops, whether, I say, my intimating such a wish, is that injury, that affront, and that persecution, with respect to these illustrious personages, which this unauthorized censor of Bishops so pathetically bemoans, the civilized world will judge, as well as God and his Church.—I know, and A. Tayhere knows, what would heretofore have been said, and what would have been done in France in similar circumstances.

Just as the press was closing, I received "The Concise History of the Papal Supremacy," which, by its dulness, its virulence, and its utter disregard of truth, points to its author, the Ecclesiastical Privy Counsellor of Ireland. In this I am, of course, much abused, and, in one instance, represented as being out of the King's protection, for having denied his Spiritual Supremacy. The only answer I shall make to all this is, what Tertullian says of Nero's edicts against the Christians: "De tali dedicatore damnationis nostræ gloriamur." Apologet. c. 5.—But, Oh! that the Catholic Church had no more dangerous enemies than ~~him~~ in these calamitous times!—To be brief, I learn, from the advertisements in the Newspapers, that the Veto-candidate, Columbanus, is again at his work; which circumstance forces me to exclaim with St. Bernard: "Plus nocet falsus Catholicus quam si verus appareat Hereticus."

APPENDIX.

[A.]

AS the character and conduct of our present venerable and exemplary Pontiff P. Pius VII. have been the subject of more calumny than those of any other person living; and as even open schism has been proclaimed from the pulpits and the presses of this country, on the part of different Clergymen who once were an honour to the name of CATHOLIC, in consequence of that calumny, it is highly requisite that English Catholics should be put upon their guard against it, by means of a true account of the transactions upon which it is grounded.—The infidels, then, whom God permitted, about a dozen years ago, in the wantonness of their success in Italy, to seize upon the holy Pontiff, Pius VI. together with Rome itself, having worn him out, in his old age and infirmities, with forced journies, prisons, and various kinds of cruelty, they made it their impious boast that they had put an end to the Papacy, and therewith to the Catholic Religion; when, behold, the Almighty Protector of both, sent an army of Russian schismatics, under the chieftain Suwarrow, from the distant shores of the Baltic into Italy, who cleared their way before them, and were victorious in every action, till a free and independent conclave of Cardinals was held at Venice, in which Pius VII. without any other recommendation than his eminent virtues and qualities, was raised to the chair of St. Peter, and till thus a head was given to the Church. This end of Divine Providence being answered, victory resumed its former course, and the Russians were driven back into their own country. For some time the See of Rome, no less than the Churches of France, was oppressed and severely persecuted, when, at length, the Almighty, in his inscrutable decrees, permitting one of the military Commanders of the last mentioned coun-

try, to obtain supreme authority in it, and his title to this authority being acknowledged by every Emperor, King, Prince, and State in Europe, and by our own Sovereign among the rest, no less than by the French people; and this Commander, at the same time, making a voluntarily offer to acknowledge the divine origin and independency of the spiritual jurisdiction of the church, which had been the subject of contention for so many years, and the cause of so many martyrdoms and banishments, his Holiness saw that it was his duty to embrace the opportunity of re-establishing the Churches of a great part of Europe on the solid basis of orthodoxy and unity, and of sending back many thousands of zealous and edifying Priests, to administer the means of salvation to as many millions of the faithful who were living and dying in the want of them. This the Pope did in the best manner that circumstances would admit of, with the universal applause of Christendom and the concurrence of the major part of the exiled Bishops and Clergy: and he thus restored the true Catholic and Apostolic religion throughout France and its dependencies, without the alloy of any heterodox or schismatical principle whatsoever. Some time after this, the Chief Magistrate of France, above alluded to (for I will not elude the main ground of complaint) alledged to the Pope, that he had been duly elected Emperor by his people, and that this title was acknowledged by every power, except the few with whom he was then at war, and by the Western or Roman Emperor, in particular, who alone seemed concerned in the matter: he therefore called upon his Holiness to perform the ceremony of crowning him. Upon what ground I now ask, was the Pope to oppose this requisition? Not because it was sanctioning the transfer of a right which belonged to another; because he had been obliged, by the common act and deed of all other Princes, including our own, to acknowledge the transfer previously. Not because this Ruler had been guilty of many crimes: for Coronation is a mere human institution, which does not require the state of grace in the subject of it; indeed his Holiness could not set up the plea in question, except on the Anabaptist axiom, that *Dominion is founded in Grace*.—There is then no pretext for the schismatical language and behaviour of the unfortunate men in question, except charging the Common Father with the crimes of his refractory children. I have repeatedly published that Pius VII. was very far from sanctioning the irreligious laws called *Organiques*, and the immoral ones concern-

ing divorce, &c. and now that the *Authentic Correspondence* between the Holy See and the French Government comes to be printed, we see that his Holiness has been incessantly employed in using the best means in his power to get them abrogated, and this frequently with the prospect of success. Finding, however, in the end, that he was trifled with, and that two unlawful demands were made upon him, the one to declare war against England, the other to confer one third part of the Cardinalate upon French subjects, in order to create an undue influence in the election of his successor, he justified my prediction in manifesting a zeal and fortitude worthy of his Apostolical Chair. In a word, the Pope has freely and deliberately forfeited a noble principality and descended into a dungeon rather than do an unjust thing and betray the independence of the Church : a glorious example to us Catholics, at this eventful period !

[B.] I have been accused of uncharitable resentment and personality in the course of the present controversy. If the searcher of hearts sees me guilty of this unchristian conduct, it is unquestionably my duty to implore his forgiveness and to warn others not to follow my example. But I must here explain my opinion on this head. I am bound to avoid injuring the character and feelings of every fellow creature, whether friend or enemy, as far as I can, and is consistent with my duty. But, if I cannot perform this duty, in warning my flock, for example, of a danger which is approaching them, without making known or annoying the persons who are the means of creating that danger ; it is obvious that I owe more to my flock than I do to those individuals. On the same principle of charity, and not out of any personal resentment, I have, on various occasions alluded to one or more individuals, as the cause of the various and fatal dissensions among the English Catholics ; because these have been notoriously guilty, and because I wish to persuade myself that every one else is innocent—I have also been accused, behind my back, of betraying confidential secrets ; but no one will venture to accuse me of this to my face ; much less will those persons who have abused my confidence do so. It is true I am in possession of various papers which have been transmitted to me, through different hands, as public records, or have been communicated to me, as official documents, on the general concerns of the English and Irish Catholics. These I claim a right to make use of, for the benefit of religion, as I think best. But the fact

is, I have barely glanced at two or three of them, on as many occasions, without making the writers known; at the very time when these writers have left no stone unturned to disgrace me, under my own name and title, in the Newspapers, and to shut the doors of every respectable Catholic against me.

[C.] As Lord Grenville alludes, in his celebrated Letter, to the communications with which he honoured me at the time of the Catholic Debate in 1808, it is proper that I should pay attention here to what his Lordship says on this subject, which is as follows: “It (the suggestion concerning an effectual
“negative, &c.) was now again brought forward with *the*
“*concurrence* of the two *individuals*, from whose opinions those
“generally prevalent among your body might best be inferred:
“of *the agent of the very persons to whose office it related*,
“and of your Lordship, &c.—What I said on the subject
“in the House of Lords, was spoken in the hearing of both,
“while the impression was yet recent on your minds, and I
“received from both the most gratifying acknowledgments of
“your satisfaction *in all that I had stated*.” There is not that man living of whose honour I entertain a higher sense than I do of Lord Grenville’s; but he, like other men, is liable to be misinformed and mistaken. His Lordship was misled by public rumour to believe that I had authorized or assented to the proposal of a Royal Veto in the House of Commons; I was no otherwise concerned in it than by answering a question concerning the presumed disposition of the Irish Prelates in this matter, without an idea, on my part, that a proposal would be made in the House concerning it. His Lordship knows that, when I waited upon him on the morning of the 27th of May, a few hours before he was to open the Catholic Question in the House of Lords, I did not presume, notwithstanding his great condescension to me, to suggest a hint on this or any other matter relating to it; which alone must form a strong presumption in the mind of his Lordship, that I had not suggested the proposal which had been made in the other House. So far from this, I carried in my hand and presented to his Lordship a *Protest* against what had there been said; which Protest declares, amongst other things, that I had given *a mere opinion, not a pledge*, on the above-mentioned point, and expresses that, in case the Negative were consented to by my constituents, the Irish Prelates, it would still be necessary it should be limited, both as to *number of times* and as to the *ground* of its exercise. The only observation which his Lord-

ship made on this paper (without the smallest intimation that he himself should say a word on the subject) was that he "could not answer for his Majesty's Ministers being tied down to assign their *motive* for rejecting a Catholic candidate for Episcopacy." It is true that on a subsequent occasion I thanked his Lordship, in a general way, for that masterpiece of eloquence, wisdom and humanity, which he has delivered in favour of the Catholics; but I am sure Lord Grenville's wisdom and candour would not tie me down to the admission of every particular position or argument which he, a zealous Protestant, laid down on a Catholic Question, in a speech which took up several hours in the delivery. Among other things, I recollect his Lordship saying that, "the Religion of the Catholics is superstitious and that he earnestly desired our conversion." No body, I am sure, will suppose that my thanks extended to these expressions.

[D.] As the learned Baronet, among other speakers and writers, does me the honour to quote my "Letter to a Parish Priest" at great length, in his very interesting speech, which has already gone through two editions, and to draw several arguments from it in favour of *his* proposed Veto, I must here solemnly protest against the unfair use made of my arguments: in as much as the Veto, which I, for a time, defended, was as different from the Veto now required, as a civil object can be from a religious one. My Veto was limited, in its exercise, to three refusals; Sir John's is to be *toties quoties* the Minister pleases; which is precisely the same thing as if he were to have the positive appointment. My Veto was only to be exercised upon *avowed and defensible civil* grounds; whereas the Minister, on the Baronet's plan, is not obliged to assign any cause at all for his rejecting a candidate; hence we are sure that the latter would generally be rejected precisely for the qualities which had induced us to recommend him. In short, my object and that of my brethren in 1799 was to afford an additional, though quite unnecessary, pledge of *civil allegiance* (by way of a tub to the whale of vulgar prejudice) whereas the professed object of our political friends, as we now discover, is to shackle our Church, in order to strengthen a rival Church. After all, that unfortunate private (though printed) Letter of mine, was a *mere Piece of Mooting*, intended for the consideration of the Irish Bishops, at their approaching assembly, and with-held, as far as lay in my power, from the inspection of others. Happily the Bishops were not influenced by it, but unani-

mously voted against any change of their discipline whatever, and I, as it was my duty to do, submitted to their decision. Soon after my return to England, in the fall of the year 1808, I discovered, to my great surprise, that what our friends really required of us was to secure their *Religious* not their *Civil* establishment; and I blessed God who had directed the Prelates of Ireland to decide as they had done. It is thus seen that I acknowledge my error, in the face of the public of both islands, which, though innocent in me, might have led to fatal consequence, but for the discernment and firmness of the thirty Prelates of Ireland. On the same principle I hereby publicly retract and condemn my aforesaid "Letter to a Parish Priest," and all my other letters and writings, whether printed or manuscript, on the subject of the Veto, which I wrote whilst I was under the aforesaid delusion; that is to say, from the latter part of May till about the conclusion of November, 1808.

[E.] From the printed Reports of Mr. Perceval's last speech on the Catholic question, it should seem that he could spare leisure from the arduous affairs of the Empire to read over my pamphlets and flying leaves concerning the Veto, and I am now of opinion that either this Right Honourable Gentleman, or some person under his eye, wrote the "Six Letters" concerning me in *The Morning Post*, now published as a pamphlet. The facts are these. Sometime in the summer of 1808, a letter or paragraph appeared in the Ministerial prints quoting a declaration which I have repeatedly published, that "I would rather lose my life, than be instrumental in giving power or even influence to an Uncatholic government over any part of the Catholic Church." Hence Mr. Perceval's friends, after paying me a great many compliments about respectability, veracity, &c. argued that Mr. Ponsonby had imposed upon Parliament and the Public in pretending to have had communications with me on the subject of the Veto and of the Irish Prelates, &c. This was an evident injury done to the character of the last mentioned Right Honourable Gentleman, which I thought it my duty to repel. Accordingly I wrote a letter in *The Morning Chronicle*, in which I averred that I actually had the honour of conferring with Mr. Ponsonby previously to the Catholic Debate, and that I had expressed a strong opinion, as to the disposition of the Irish Prelates, and that, of course, Mr. P. was "THUS FAR" justified in what he had stated to Parliament. Upon this Mr. A. B. opened his battery of Six long and elaborate Letters against me in *The Morning Post*,

insisting upon knowing exactly HOW FAR the Right Honourable Gentleman was justified in what he had said, at the same time blundering at every step, for want of understanding the matter he was treating of. As I was not disposed to gratify the malignant purpose of the writer, I left his letters unanswered. Recent events have obliged me to publish more on this subject than I wished to do. It appears as if both Mr. Perceval and Lord Clancarty, down to this very time, labour under such a confusion of ideas as not to be able to understand how it is possible for the King to have a bare power of objecting to a disloyal Catholic candidate, without having an effectual controul over the Catholic Church. In consequence of this confusion the last mentioned is said to have accused me, in the Orange phraseology, "of breaking faith with heretics!"

[F.] Upon this principle, namely, that it is not lawful to concur in what is against the law of God, the Parliament proceeded, during the reigns of James I. Charles I. and Charles II. in requiring the Sovereign to execute the sanguinary penal laws against Catholics. In their petition to James I. in 1623, they assured him that such execution "would much advance the glory of Almighty God." Rushworth Collect. vol. 1. In the same spirit Archbishop Abbot decided, that to tolerate Catholics "is hateful to God." Ibid. and Archbishop Usher, with the other Protestant Bishops of Ireland, declared the same to Charles I. Curry's Civil Wars of Ireland.—James I. having assembled his Scotch Clergy to determine whether he might not pardon Earls Huntly and Errol the crime of Popery, they decided that "those Noblemen had been guilty of Idolatry, a crime deserving death by the laws both of God and Man, and that therefore the Civil Magistrate could not pardon them." Robertson's Scotland. How many fasts did not the Puritans appoint under the Republic to expiate "the crying sin of toleration!" Neal, &c. It will be readily understood that these, among a thousand instances of the same sort, are mentioned for the sake of the general principle, not of the particular application of it,

[G.] To say nothing either of the Irish or the English ancestry of John Joseph Dillon, Esq. or of his claim to the laurels of Cressy, or of his great landed property, or of his eminent and gratuitous services to the Catholic body, of all which he so frequently reminds us in his "Two Letters to Edward Jerminham, Esq." and his "Two Memoirs addressed to the University of Oxford," dated in May last.

To pass over likewise his gross abuse of the author and of the Catholic Prelates of Ireland, whom he calls *bigotted, weak, infatuated*, and *fallen from all respect due to the Episcopal order*, I shall barely exhibit him as a *modern Catholic layman*, pronouncing upon Catholic doctrine and discipline, by way of convincing real well instructed Catholics of the extent to which ignorance and irreligion is capable of carrying some persons of that description in these unfortunate days.—At page 26 of his “Two Memoirs” he decides that “The oath of supremacy may be taken by a Catholic, and that it is a matter which regards the internal conscience of the party.” He argues this from the history of the oath, and, of course, presumes that Chancellor, Sir Thomas More, and a whole hecatomb of other Catholic martyrs, who were put to death under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth for refusing it, did not understand the nature of it. He adds, p. 27, that, “the lawfulness of religious tenets is a question of theology, but the meaning of words, or the sense of any particular passage, is a matter of personal judgment.” This was the last refuge of the Jansenist heretics, which, if it were a safe one, the Church never could have condemned any heretic whomsoever. At p. 41, he pronounces that “if the state decide upon the expediency of interfering with the election of Catholic Bishops in Ireland, the Imperial Parliament has a right, by virtue of the *civil supremacy*, to enact, without the consent even of the Catholics themselves, and still less of the Pope, any civil regulations upon this subject, which it may deem expedient.” This exactly tallies with Lord Clancarty’s doctrine, except that John Joseph conditions that Parliament allow Catholics “the ministry of Bishops in Holy Orders;” schismatics, heretics, or what not, provided only they are “Bishops in Holy Orders!” In proof of this position, which he admits “will appear to some people bold and novel,” he teaches us that “though the character or faculty of the ministry emanates from the Church, and though the *clergy of whatever order* in the Church hold their abstract spiritual functions solely under a divine commission, as *successors of the Apostles*” (thus we learn that Subdeacons, Acolyths, &c. are *successors of the Apostles*, no less than Bishops are) “Yet the state is vested, by the fundamental rules of society, and in virtue of its civil supremacy and *Plenum Dominium*, with a right of controul over all persons who are its subjects, and of declaring by *what persons*, and in *what places*, and under

“ *what qualifications* that spiritual authority, which it cannot confer, shall be actually exercised.” If this be true, what an error has the Church hitherto been subject to, in supposing herself exclusively invested with spiritual jurisdiction! We are now given to understand, that the learned barrister himself, or the Protestant Clergyman, could give all spiritual faculties to an ordained Priest for the Catholic congregation in his parish, as well as the Catholic Bishop himself can do, if a statute were made to this effect! He signifies that the civil authority is competent to make whatever alterations it may please in the extent of Catholic Bishoprics within its dominions; and this schismatical doctrine he pretends to ground on the authority of the orthodox Clergy of France; several thousands of whom have lost their benefices, their property, their country, and very many of them their lives, *precisely* for opposing it! Strange that Mr. Dillon should not have questioned some emigrant clergyman on the subject, before he committed himself in the manner he has done! His words are these: “ In refusing to take the oath required by the national assembly, which had new-modelled the ecclesiastical division of that kingdom, they (the French Clergy) admitted the right of the State to enact regulations respecting the external police of the Church, its external dominion over the persons and actions of the Clergy, and also its RIGHT TO CHANGE THE LIMITS OF THE EXISTING DIOCESES; but they refused to take the oath required of them to support what was nominated *The Civil Constitution of the Clergy*, because they conceived it to encroach upon the Catholic faith, by asserting a right to confer the faculties of ministry upon the persons nominated to the new dioceses by the authority of the Civil Government.” Two Memoirs, p. 49, p. 50. —

In case John Joseph were rightly principled as a Catholic, it would be easy to instruct him that, to alter the extent of a diocese, inhabited by Christians, is to give or to take away the spiritual jurisdiction (derived from Christ through a succession of Pastors) which is necessary to exercise the ministerial power received in Ordination, with respect to a certain number of souls. Unfortunately, it appears that this gentleman disavows the vital principle of Catholicity, namely, that *living speaking tribunal* from which alone we can learn, with absolute certainty, what is the essential doctrine and discipline of the Catholic Church. Treating of the late Resolutions of the Catholic Bishops of Ireland, he prints as

follows, in capital letters: " I ACKNOWLEDGE NO POWER ON
 " EARTH WHICH HAS A RIGHT TO CONTRUL MY OPINIONS,
 " OR THE PUBLICATION OF THEM, WITH RESPECT TO THE
 " DISCIPLINE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH OR THE CONDUCT
 " OF ITS MINISTERS, CONNECTED WITH MUNICIPAL LAW AND
 " TEMPORAL GOVERNMENT."—In this predicament, that is to
 say connected with and even proscribed by the municipal law
 and temporal government was, till of late years, the discipline
 of the Catholic Church respecting the bearing of Mass and fre-
 quenting the Sacraments in this country, and still more recently
 in France; and in the same predicament will our whole disci-
 pline soon be, if a Noble Earl, mentioned above, can execute
 his project. To be brief, without retracting, John Joseph
 Dillon is no Catholic, nor will any clergyman who knows him,
 and knows his duty, treat him as a Catholic.

Among the subjects of grief which the publication in
 question affords, there are some of an opposite nature. Speak-
 ing of the unrestricted Veto, John Joseph gravely tells us,
 that " we should have a sufficient security against any im-
 " proper use of it in the choice of Catholic Bishops, in the
 " responsibility of Ministers;" Append. p. xxviii. and that it
 argues " a morbid disposition of mind" to suppose that Dr.
 Duigenan, for example (who, in quality of Ecclesiastical
 Privy Counsellor and Official of Ireland, will enjoy there what-
 ever power the Crown may obtain in this concern) would
 continue to exercise it till he met with a subject fit for his
 purposes! But the most diverting passage in the whole book,
 is the title which he gives to his new-devised Act of Parliament
 for changing the unchangeable religion of his pious Irish fore-
 fathers. He calls it, "*An Act to QUIET THE MINDS*
 "*of his Majesty's subjects in Ireland professing the Roman*
 "*Catholic Religion!*"

I cannot dismiss this writer without taking notice of what
 he has lately published, both in his Memoirs and in his first
 Letter to F. Jerminham, Esq. on the clause in the Catholic
 Petition relative to an alteration of the Marriage Act. The
 adoption of this clause he ascribes to, " An ambitious, in-
 " triguing Churchman, grasping at power in every form;
 " burning with a lust of control over every family; bigotted
 " in an attachment to centuries of darkness, which obscured
 " the brilliancy of Christianity, &c." He then proceeds to
 give a theological lecture upon the Sacrament of Matrimony,
 in which he shews himself just as well informed as he has

proved himself to be on the subject of spiritual jurisdiction; after which he declares, that "if he stand alone he will use every exertion in his power to avert any alteration of the law upon this subject;" in as much as, in the case supposed, he would "hold his honours and estates solely at the caprice of our clergy." I shall take no further notice of all this abuse and mis-statement than barely to suggest, that Mr. Dillon must first prove himself to be a member of the Catholic Church, and to be acknowledged as such by her Pastors, before he can have a pretence for intermeddling in the business. I therefore now proceed to give a true statement of the matter.

The Catholic faith asserts that Matrimony is one of the seven Sacraments of the New Law, conferring a spiritual grace, which the faithful who enter into this state are bound to receive. Now the subject *matter* or basis of the Sacrament is the *valid contract* between the parties. This, like any other contract, may be *confirmed*, but cannot be *made over again*. Thus if I promise my neighbour to give him a sum of money for some service which he is to render to me, and I repeat my promise twenty times over, the real contract takes place on the first occasion; on the other occasions I barely ratify my promise. On this principle it is necessary that Catholics, who are desirous of receiving the Matrimonial grace, should *make their contract*, in the circumstances which are otherwise necessary for this purpose; in other words, it is necessary that they should be married, in the first instance, by the Catholic Priest; and that the latter has no Sacramental benediction to confer on those who have previously entered into a valid marriage-contract, as those persons have done who have been actually married in the Parish Church. Thus argued and decided Bishop Stoner, Bishop Challoner, Bishop Hornyold, Bishop Walton, Bishop James Talbot, and all the eminent Catholic Divines who flourished at the time when the Marriage Act was passed in 1754, as appears by piles of their letters in my possession. So the late Pope Pius VI. also decided with respect to the marriages under the French Republic, as is seen in the Letter to the Bishop of Lucan, published in *The Collectanea*, &c. So likewise His Holiness Pius VII. has lately decided, as appears by the letters of Cardinal Gabrielli to the Bishops of La Marca, June 11, 1808, written in consequence of the publication of the Napoleon Code concerning divorces, &c. See *Correspondenza Autentica*. Conformably to this doctrine,

the Ven. Bishop Challoner published a Pastoral letter on the subject in 1759, and the four Vicars Apostolic synodically assembled in May, 1803, declared it to be a rule of the English Mission that the contracting parties are to be married, in the *first instance*, by the Catholic Priest, a copy of which, amongst other regulations, is given to every one of our officiating Catholic Clergymen, on entering upon his office.

Still, great and lamentable evils some times arise from the observance of this necessary discipline, in consequence of the Marriage Act, passed in 1754, which invalidates, as to their *civil effects*, all marriages performed in England (with the exception of those of Jews and Quakers) before any but the established clergy. The Catholics, at the time, as I have proofs before me, exerted all their interest with the Ministers, Mr. Pelham and the Duke of Newcastle, to get the exemption granted to Jews and Quakers extended to them: but to no effect, in as much as the law, at that time, did not acknowledge the existence of a Catholic Clergy. Different attempts have been made since, for obtaining the desired relief, especially in the year 1791, which have failed through the negligence or insincerity of some of our own body; for there are very good grounds to believe that the heads of the law and of the Established Church, would promote, instead of discouraging a legal remedy for the crying immorality and injustice which very frequently happen in the existing circumstances. The fact is, that men, after solemnly marrying with women in places of worship and before Clergymen, both licenced by law, often abandon their wives and children, and openly marry with other women; while the parishes will not even relieve the former, because their marriages were not performed according to the statute. This evil results, not barely from the nature of our discipline, but also from the habits and dispositions of Irish Catholics, who constitute far the greater part of the Catholic population of England. These observing that Catholics were married exclusively and legally by priests, in their own country, often times positively refuse even to renew their contracts, after being married by the Priest, before the parish Ministers. The remedy for these evils is obvious: the law now acknowledges the existence of Catholic Clergymen, and we are willing and desirous to concur towards the object of the Marriage Act, by giving all legal publicity to Catholic Marriages, without the least injury or degradation to the Established Church. We are willing that the banns, here in Eng-

land, shall be bidden in the parish Church, or a licence for their omission be sued for in the legal courts. We are satisfied that the contract be enregistered in the parish books, and that the same fees be paid as if the parish minister had performed the ceremony.

This being the real state of the case, I ask how that wicked Churchman, alluded to above (who, to his other crimes, adds that of being fond of ecclesiastical antiquities) could encrease his power; or how the *honours and estates* of John Joseph Dillon would be subject to *his caprice*, in consequence of a modification of the Marriage Act in favour of Catholics? That Churchman, at present, I have reason to believe, exerts all his influence to induce Catholics to perform their real or first contract, to which the sacramental grace is annexed, as the above mentioned Bishops and Popes have prescribed. On the other hand, the gentleman of honours and estates, when he finds a partner equal to him, will, of course, be validly as well as legally married by the parish Minister alone.

But, says John Joseph Dillon, "The greater number of our missionaries have been educated and have lived in a system of such seclusion from the affairs of the world, that few will be found to possess, what is so necessary for the study of the canon law, A JURIDICIAL MIND. The nature of my own pursuits, added to the interest I have taken in the Catholic question, has led me particularly to the consideration of this point: and I have no hesitation in declaring a conviction, that, if the wishes of some of our clergy were gratified, they would be themselves totally at a loss how to proceed." The meaning of this and of a great deal more insulting language against the Catholic Clergy is, that they are incapable of understanding the doctrine and laws of their own church concerning the Sacrament of Matrimony. Where will the arrogance of our little barrister end? Oh! that the good Irish Priest, Father Dillon, of Little Moorfields Chapel, whom I so much revered, were now alive, to repress the insolence of this, his little degenerate nephew! We have seen above, sufficient proofs of his utter ignorance of canon law. On the other hand, there is not an officiating missionary in England who is not required by his actual duty to know as much of the canon law about matrimony, as if the Marriage Act had never existed, and a great deal more than falls to the share of this mere English lawyer.

[H.] To the schismatical lectures of Columbanus, adopted by J. J. Dillon, and to the mis-statements of Charles Bulter, Esq. *Revol. Germ. Emp.* and of the author of the "Letter to Sir John Lawson, Bart." and of some other writers, concerning ancient and modern discipline, with respect to the appointment of Bishops, I might oppose canons of Councils, and testimonies of Fathers and Doctors of the Church in different ages, to the amount of a huge folio; but I shall content myself with giving one canon of a General Council and a few testimonies of the most eminent Canonists of modern times, speaking of the church discipline in this regard, both as it was and as it now is. The 8th General Council, held at C. P. in 889, can. 22, decrees as follows: "This Holy and Universal Council, in conformity with former Councils, defines and orders that the appointment and confirmation of Bishops shall be made by the Episcopal College, and that no Prince or Grandee shall interfere in the election or appointment of any Bishop." These words of a General Council are too plain to need any comment, and clearly prove, that whatever interference either Kings or People have had in the appointment of Bishops at any time, has been by a mere concession of the Church, which acts and speaks by her Head Pastors, and not as a matter of right. Listen now to the sublime Bossuet: "Thus speaks the Catholic Church to her children: you are a people, a state, a society; but Jesus Christ, who is your King, holds nothing from you; his authority is of a higher authority. You have no greater right to say who shall be his Ministers than you have to appoint him to be your Sovereign. Thus your Pastors, who are his Ministers, derive their title from the same high source that Christ himself does, and it is essential that they should be placed over you by an order of his appointment." Bossuet *Variat. B. xv.* The learned Archbishop of Paris, De Marca, affirms that, "The ancient church followed the example of the Apostles, which required that Bishops should be appointed by the same persons by whom they were consecrated, and that the clergy and people had no other privilege than that of testimony and consent." Speaking of the election of St. Matthias, he quotes St. John Chrysostom, who exclaims: "What then might not Peter alone have elected an Apostle? Certainly he might; but he refrained from doing it, that he might not seem partial." De Concord. Sacerd and Imper.

L. 1, 8, 2. The celebrated church historian, Fleury, says :
 “ The right of establishing her Pastors and Ministers is an es-
 “ sential branch of the Church’s jurisdiction, which she en-
 “ joyed under the Pagan Emperors, and which no human pow-
 “ er could deprive her of, though some times she was hindered
 “ in the exercise of it by force and violence.” Inst. Droit.
 Eccl. L. i. c. 1. Describing the discipline of the primitive
 Church, he says : “ The election of Bishops was made by the
 “ neighbouring Bishops. The Metropolitan and his provin-
 “ cial Bishops assembled at the vacant See, when the Clergy,
 “ the Monks, the Magistrates, and the People, were *consulted*,
 “ but the Bishops *decided*.” Disc. Sur. les 6 Prem. Siecl.
 n. 4. The profound Thomassin demonstrates from St. Cy-
 prian and other Fathers, that “ Bishops of old were chosen by
 “ the *will of the Prelates* and the *testimony of the people*.”
 Disciplin. Eccles. Tom. ii. L. 2. The oracle of Canonists,
 Cabassutius says, speaking of the actual discipline : “ He
 “ who is chosen or nominated Bishop, cannot exercise any
 “ spiritual jurisdiction, till he is confirmed by the Holy
 “ See. But, as soon as he is instituted and confirmed by the
 “ Pope, though he is not yet consecrated, he can perform
 “ any thing relating to jurisdiction, but not what relates to the
 “ episcopal order” (such as the sacraments of Confirmation,
 “ Orders, &c.) Theor. et Praxis Jur. Can. L. iv. c. 7.
 Van Espen treats the whole subject with his usual perspicuity.
 He says : “ The Church (in ancient times) consented to hear
 “ the Clergy and People in the choice of the Bishop, that the
 “ merits and de-merits of the candidate might be revealed,
 “ and to prevent discontent and murmuring ; but the Metro-
 “ politan and Provincial Prelates had the principal part in the
 “ election, and it was by them, that the Bishop was, properly
 “ speaking, elected and appointed.” Jus. Canon Univ. Vol.
 i. P. 1. Tit. 13. “ At present,” he says, “ the confirmation of
 “ all Bishops belongs to the Roman Pontiff, in conformity with
 “ the decrees of the Council of Trent. (See Sess. xxiv. cap.
 “ 1. Sess. vi. cap. 1). As formerly the person elected by the
 “ clergy and people or nominated by the Prince, was not con-
 “ sidered as the Bishop till he was confirmed by the Metro-
 “ politan ; so by the present common ecclesiastical law, those
 “ who are chosen by the chapters or nominated by the Sove-
 “ reigns cannot interfere in the administration of their dio-
 “ ceses before the decree of their confirmation is expedited.
 “ It is therefore by means of confirmation, or of the Pope’s

“institution, that a true Pastor and Bishop is constituted, as
 “*all canonists teach by common consent.*” Ibid. Act 7. I
 shall close these extracts with one from the Brief of the late
 Pope Pius VI. dated April 13, 1791, and addressed to the
 Church of France, in which he decides that the Bishops, lately
 consecrated there by the mere authority of the State and of
 certain Metropolitans or other Bishops, without his institution,
 were destitute of all jurisdiction, and that their consecration
 was sacrilegious. He says: “The right of institution belongs
 “to the Holy See alone, according to the canons of the Coun-
 “cil of Trent; and therefore, if any Bishop or Metropolitan
 “arrogate to himself this right, we shall be obliged, in virtue
 “of our Apostolic ministry, to declare schismatics, both the
 “Bishop who confirms and the person so confirmed.” See
 these and other authorities to the same effect in the author’s
 work, called “The Divine Right of Episcopacy,” Keating
 and Co.

The above testimonies are equally clear and decisive as to
 all and every point which has been agitated of late years in
 this and in the sister island, relative to the appointment of
 Catholic Bishops. I have barely to add, that the right of
 testimony and postulation, exercised, in primitive times, by
 the whole flock, and then confined, first to the Clergy, and
 afterwards to the Cathedral Clergy, has in latter ages (to
 prevent the tumults, perjury, and intrigues which too often
 followed the former discipline) been conferred on most of the
 different *Catholic* Princes, in virtue of treaties, called *Con-*
cordats, which the Church at several times has entered into
 with them. Hence it is essentially necessary that the Prince,
 bearing testimony to the Church in favour of the *orthodoxy*,
zeal, &c. of the Catholic candidate, should *himself be a Ca-*
tholic. In vain does Columbanus produce instances of Arian
 and other Heretical Princes insisting on a right of confirming
 Bishops and even Popes; for, 1st, Fleury will tell him that
 these were “acts of force and violence,” which the Church
 never ratified, but always held in abhorrence. 2d, It is to
 be observed that these Arian and other Heterodox Sovereigns
 never attempted to interfere in Catholic elections for the
 avowed purpose of *securing* their own Uncatholic Churches,
 but barely to assert their claim to the *altum dominium* over the
 Episcopal domains, and to replenish their exchequers. Pagi
 says of Theodoric’s ratification of the election of Felix IV.
 “*Certa pecunie summa pro confirmatione impetrata.*” Lastly,

it appears from history, that these Princes did not properly interfere in the elections themselves, but barely insisted on a right of approving of them.

N. B. As the decrees of the Council of Trent, regarding discipline, are twice referred to in the above extracts, and as they were frequently mentioned in the last Catholic debate, I think it right to add what the learned Church Historian, Dodd, says on this subject, with respect to this country, and what an eminent Catholic Bishop of Ireland has written to me within these few days concerning it in his own. The former says : " The Council of Trent was never received with solemnity in England ; but it is believed that *no Catholic* will presume to reject it either as to doctrinal matters, or those regarding discipline ;" that is to say where the discipline is practicable. The latter writes : " the decrees of Trent, regarding discipline, are all received in Ireland, excepting that regarding clandestine Marriages, which has not been published in the province of Dublin, the diocese of Meath, and the Wardenship of Galway." The necessity of Papal institution was universally acknowledged many centuries before the Council of Trent, and is connected with faith.

[I.] Among other unaccountable stories which have been circulated against the writer on the present occasion, one is, that on the 31st of January, he removed the conscientious difficulties of a certain respectable Catholic, with respect to the 5th resolution, and caused him to subscribe his name to it. As this story has been widely spread through Ireland and England, and that upon alledged high authority, and as some sort of attestations have been procured for the pretended fact, I may, and I ought to tell the whole truth concerning it. On the aforesaid 31st of January, having then arrived in town but the night before, I was invited by a highly respectable party to what I supposed to be a mere friendly dinner : but this dinner was hardly over, when a certain friend of mine, whom I had seen in the morning in his study, without his saying a word to me upon the important business, got up and read aloud the 5th resolution, after which, amidst plates and glasses, without further deliberation, I was called up to declare whether I would sign it or not. Thinking that political arguments were best adapted to a lay company and a tavern, I endeavoured to convince my friends how imprudent it would be to separate our cause, by the line of conduct proposed, from that of the Irish Catholics, and of the particular obligation I myself was

under to act in concert with the Irish Prelates, whose agent I had the honour to be. I was then called upon to say, whether "in other circumstances, and as a mere English Vicar Apostolic, I had any objection to the resolution?" My answer was, that "I hoped to give a common answer, in conjunction with my English brethren, to that question." In fact, I had seen two of them the same morning, and had entered into an agreement with them to act in concert at that momentous crisis. A third question was then put to me, "whether I would promise not to use any arguments to influence the decision of my said English brethren?" I instantaneously replied, that "I would make no such promise; and that I would make use of whatever arguments my conscience should suggest." Upon this the respectable person in question briefly asked me, "May I sign the resolution?" My answer was, as nearly as I can recollect, "You may sign it if you please." I should probably have given the same answer, if, after being teased to sign away my little property, any one of the company had asked me, "May I sign it away?" adverting to the futility of such a signature and not to the morality of it. I understood from the first hearing of the resolution, that its object was to alter our Church discipline, by giving up the rights of Bishops, and I remember well telling several of my friends, that I did not regard some scores or even some hundreds of lay signatures, provided the Bishops were true to themselves. With respect to the conscience of the respectable personage, I had nothing to do with it, either as an Irish agent or an English prelate; nor did he appear to me either on the 31st of January or the 1st of February to be guided by my opinion. In case, however, he should say otherwise, it is not too late to retract his signature, and he may lay as much blame on me for what is past as he pleases.

[K.] To confine myself to the frauds contained in the small collection, endorsed "Roman Catholic Petitions;" besides those mentioned above, the second Petition and the Meeting at the St. Alban's Tavern, February 1, are both falsely entitled, "OF THE ENGLISH ROMAN CATHOLICS." The unwary reader is likewise led to suppose that it was then and there signed by *five English Catholic Bishops*; whereas three only were present, and of these one refused to sign. Again, the 16th Resolution of the Irish Prelates is there quoted, as it has been also in *The Press* and *The Globe*, in support of the

5th Resolution, whereas the Prelates in their 17th Resolution directly *censure* it, as being “*vague, indefinite, and as pledging Catholics to an eventual acquiescence in arrangements, possibly prejudicial to the integrity and safety of our Church-discipline.*” In order to make this 17th Resolution pass with the public for a *fabrication*, which the editors at first boldly asserted, they entitle the preceding one thus: “Sixteenth and *concluding* Resolution of the Irish Prelates, &c.” Now the Irish Prelates have, again and again, assured them, under their own hands, that the 17th Resolution is genuine, and that it was printed and published in Dublin before it was printed in England. I wish I could impress religious motives upon the minds of these gentlemen, with hopes of success to induce them, in acting, and even in printing, in a business regarding Religion, to pay more regard to candour and truth. In lieu, then, of such motives, I beg them to be attentive to that bastard kind of virtue, called *honour*. Thus much I am sure of, that, if this pamphlet should fall into the hands of the Knight of Kerry, he will declare, that the individuals I allude to are totally excluded from every share in the lofty panegyric which he pronounced the other day (after poor Mr. Windham) on the virtues and honour of English Catholics.

[L.] Even John Joseph Dillon, Esq. writing to the Secretary of the Board in question in the most friendly terms, says: “With many others, I acknowledge no authority in what is called the Board of English Catholics to act beyond the purposes for which they were originally constituted.” Second Letter to E. J. Esq. p. 1.

[M.] To prevent a recurrence of those dissensions, which, at different times, have been attended with such injurious consequences to the body of English Catholics, nothing is so important as the observance of this lesson of our Divine Saviour, by keeping things civil and sacred apart, and leaving each to the management of the competent authority. It is with a view to this object alone, and from a thorough knowledge that nothing short of a public statement of some past occurrences can promote its success, that I enter upon the present disagreeable subject.—In an irreligious age and country, there never fails to be a great outcry against the ambition and usurpations of Churchmen; but it is not in the power of any man to *substantiate* a single charge of this nature against the English Vicars Apostolic, since their coming into notice upon the first relaxation of the penal laws, about thirty years ago. But

how stands the account on the other side? Upon the first appearance of a further relaxation, a certain gentleman, who, from that time down to the present, has always acted in quality of Director of the English Catholic body, published a paper, now before me, dated April 10, 1787, in which he took upon himself to pronounce, that “the present Ecclesiastical Government by Vicars Apostolic is contrary to the primitive practice of the Church;” which is false, where the question is concerning a mere *Apostolical Mission* to a few dispersed Catholics, as is the case with us. He therefore declares it to be “*incumbent* on Catholics to use their endeavours to procure the nomination of Bishops in Ordinary;” namely, to be chosen by popular elections. He adds, “the advantage of having Pastors thus chosen by the flock they are to teach and direct, would be, that they would be competent, in conjunction with it, to regulate every part of our national Church-discipline.” The Bishops were alarmed, as they well might be, at this Presbyterian plan of Church Reformation and Church Government, and they took measures to defeat it. Very soon, however, it appeared that the Director would admit of no Ecclesiastical partnership at all, in regulating, not only our Church-discipline, but also our faith. He drew up a new Profession of the latter, contained in an oath, since condemned by the Church; and he determined also, that we should assume a new and schismatical appellation, that of *Protesting Catholic Dissenters*, instead of our own unchangeable name of *Catholics*. The plan, thus formed, was published in the newspapers, and delivered to the present Lord Redesdale, to be presented to Parliament and passed into a law, without once consulting the Vicars Apostolic, who saw it, for the first time, in Woodfall’s Register. It is true, the learned Gentleman undertook to *explain* the new Creed and appellation to each of them, in a MS. folio, called *The Red Book*, as he afterwards did to the Body at large, in three printed quartos, called *The Blue Books*; but his language to the Bishops and the Clergy in general was so dictatorial, that the late learned and zealous Prelate, Dr. Matthew Gibson, found himself obliged to complain, in a printed paper, now before me, that “the English Catholic Church was subject to another Lay Spiritual Vicar, another Thomas Cromwell.” It is true, also, that he consulted certain Catholic Clergymen; but this was done, in the usual way, among plates and glasses, after a dinner provided for the purpose, at the Portland Coffee House. Then

and there it was that the Gentleman first produced his mixed composition of heterodoxy and schism to any of the Clergy, whom he actually called upon, at the very table where they were dining, to sign their names to it! I pass over an incredible number of other flagrant violations of the *Divine Rights* of the Catholic Prelacy, and of the *essential Constitution* of our Church, from the same quarter; which violations were the undeniable cause of those unhappy divisions in our little body that took place twenty years ago, and which were scarcely healed, when the same cause produced the same effects, very recently.

I say nothing of the slights put upon the Bishops and Clergy, because I profess to speak only of the violation of their *acknowledged rights*. A fresh Petition was wanted; accordingly the learned Director, in virtue of his prescriptive claim, drew one up, namely, the last Petition of the English Catholics. But, though this contained two different and important points regarding the doctrine and discipline of the Catholic Church, he did not deign to consult the Vicars Apostolic upon either of them. The consequence was, that they were both improperly expressed, and one of them so erroneously, that if I had not succeeded, through another Gentleman, in getting it altered, after the instrument had been engrossed, I must have openly protested against it. The same was the case with respect to what is called the Second Petition, containing the 5th Resolution, which Resolution relates to proposed arrangements of our Church-discipline, particularly in what regards the Episcopal order. Even *this Resolution* was concerted and settled among certain Protestant Statesmen and Catholic lawyers, or other laymen, and was brought forward to be signed at a public Meeting of Catholics, in order to be immediately signed and presented to the Houses of Parliament, without the Catholic Bishops being consulted, or even informed about it. It is true, the English Prelates were called upon to *sign it*, for the purpose of blazoning our names in capital letters at the head of the subscribers, in order to make Parliament believe that we were the foremost to thrust our necks into the yoke of spiritual thralldom; but as to any Episcopal discussion and decision on this most weighty subject of Religion and the Prelacy, so far from being allowed the leisure and other means necessary for doing this properly, great industry was employed to prevent our meeting and deliberating together at all. I have mentioned the circumstances of

my being called upon at dinner, in a lay company, and upon a single reading of the Resolution, the night before it was to be generally signed, to give my sanction to it; I have likewise mentioned the circumstances under which the three other Vicars Apostolic were separately induced to sign it, without any common Episcopal consultation. I could mention other circumstances to the same purpose, but I shall content myself with naming one. At the meeting of February 1, it was not thought necessary to furnish a person in my office with so much as a copy of the Resolution, though I was then so pressinglly called upon to sign it, and though I saw copies of it in the hands of most of the respectable lay Catholics there present; and it is a fact, that I was destitute of a copy of it till a long time afterwards, when it was printed. I am not, my brethren, here complaining of injuries or affronts offered to this poor person of mine, which is so soon to be humbled in the grave, and at the tribunal of Christ; but I am vindicating the *Divine Rights* of that office in Christ's Church which I unworthily fill; I am insisting upon the observance of those immutable laws, acknowledged by all Catholics, which he has laid down, for preserving the faith, discipline, and internal peace of his Church. Were I to betray these rights of my office, or compromise them, or connive at their infringement, in consideration of the advantage I might derive from so doing, I should be a traitor to Christ, to the Church at large, and to you, my flock, in particular.

It will not be long before you will be called upon to appoint your Catholic Committee, or Representative Agents, since you have none at present; or at least to sign fresh petitions to Parliament. Concerning such persons and such measures I say not a word: they are temporal concerns. But, if you have seen sufficient reason in this work, and more particularly in the present note, as I am sure that 99 in every 100 of you who read it will have seen, to support your Bishops in their inalienable authority to judge of and decide upon all matters relating to the tenets and discipline of your religion, "without any lay intervention whatever;" then, at whatever time you are so called upon, my advice to you is this: Draw up and sign another instrument, purporting that "Whereas you have, in such a month and year, signed such an instrument, &c. your will is, not that any lay Catholic or Catholics should treat with Members of Parliament or other persons concerning any changes to be made in our Church discipline, or

“ concerning any other matter regarding our religious tenets
 “ or discipline, on his or their own judgment, or on that of
 “ other persons unauthorised to pronounce on such matters ;
 “ and that you expressly protest against their doing so ; on
 “ the contrary, that your express will is, that all such matters
 “ be referred to the free, uninfluenced judgment and decision
 “ of the Vicars Apostolic, and that copies of all documents
 “ relating to the same shall be sent to each of them by the
 “ proper agent, as soon as possible, and that all the leisure
 “ which they themselves shall require for pronouncing upon
 “ the subject matter, or matters, shall be allowed them : and
 “ whereas, in case of any petition, regarding civil and tem-
 “ poral matters, being presented to one or more branches of
 “ the legislature, it may appear equally practicable to obtain
 “ redress for any grievances affecting the practice of the Ca-
 “ tholic religion itself, that your will is, that each of the Vicars
 “ Apostolic shall, in this case, receive the earliest notice of
 “ such intended petition, in order that the redress of these
 “ grievances, if practicable, may form one object of the pe-
 “ tition ; and that the Vicars Apostolic shall be furnished, by
 “ the proper agent, with all the information they may call for
 “ respecting the practicability of obtaining such redress, and the
 “ measures, which shall have been, or may be taken, from time
 “ to time, to obtain it.”

An instrument to this effect, signed by the leading persons
 of a certain number of congregations, and deposited with their
 officiating Pastors, would go very far to prevent a recurrence
 of those evils, both spiritual and temporal, which all good
 Catholics have so long and so bitterly lamented.

N. B. I have just had a glimpse of “ Columbanus ad
 “ Hibernos,” N. 2, which appears under the real name of
 its author, Dr. O'Connor, librarian to the Marquis of Buck-
 ingham. This work, however undeserving of notice in other
 respects, is of consequence, as far as it confirms the statements
 in the present Instruction, relative to the dangers which threaten
 our Holy Religion in these islands ; for this is a subject on
 which Dr. O'Connor cannot fail of being thoroughly well
 informed. The drift of this work, is to persuade the Nobility,
 Gentry, and Clergy, of Ireland, whom he separately courts
 and flatters, to shake off the Divine authority of their Bishops
 in all matters of Ecclesiastical discipline, as a usurpation of
 “ self-appointed arbiters,” and, in the true spirit of Eccle-
 siastical democracy, to resolve, that “ the time is now arrived

“ for establishing a national Church-discipline, independant
 “ of the *Dominatio in Cleros* (that of Bishops) on *general will*,
 “ affording satisfaction to the Civil Power, to the Nobility
 “ and Gentry, and to the Clergy.” He again and again in-
 forms the Irish, that: “ Fortunately, there are English States-
 “ men—who will endeavour to hold an *Ægis* of law between
 “ the abuses of spiritual power, and the liberties of the Irish
 “ people:” and he calls upon “ The British Rulers to observe,
 “ that the Irish cannot be *converted* to Protestantism—the
 “ Catholic system must be improved, and rendered more
 “ analogous to our Constitution.” Finally, he threatens his
 native Bishops, whom he foully calumniates and insults in
 every page, that since “ they hold their Synodical Resolu-
 “ tions” (in which they have rejected the Veto, and claimed
 to themselves the exclusive right of treating and deciding upon
 the faith and discipline of the Catholic Church) “ as too sacred
 “ to be revoked, they must *feel the necessity of yielding to the*
 “ *law;*” at the same time denouncing woe upon woe against
 them, and all other superiors, if they dare to censure him.
 Such is the emancipation, and such are the arrangements,
 which Dr. O’Connor, writing from Stowe, leads us all to
 expect a short time hence.

FINIS.

LETTERS
TO A
ROMAN CATHOLIC PRELATE
OF
IRELAND,

*In Refutation of Counsellor Charles Butler's Letter to an
Irish Catholic Gentleman ;*

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A POSTSCRIPT,

CONTAINING

A REVIEW OF THE REV. DOCTOR O'CONNOR'S WORKS,

ENTITLED

Columbanus ad Hibernos on the Liberty of the
IRISH CHURCH.

BY THE RT. REV. J. MILNER, D.D. F.S.A. C.A.R. & V.A.
OF THE MIDLAND DISTRICT IN ENGLAND.

Cum carpuntur vitia et inde scandalum oriatur ipse sibi scandali causa
est, qui facit quod argui debet, non ille qui arguit : Melius est ut
scandalum oriatur, quam ut veritas relinquantur.

ST. BERNARD.

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AND KEATING, BOOKER, FOWLDER, BUDD
AND RIDGEWAY, LONDON.

1811.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

To those who have read the numerous and able performances of Doctor Milner, and who will, of course, be the purchasers of the work now submitted to the public, a few words are due by the publisher in vindication of his own character, and in justice to his feelings. He would be much wanting, indeed, in his respect to the great fame of the learned author of the present work, did he not shelter him from the malignity of criticism or the slander of envy, when the errors of the press (or the numerous causes inseparable from a publication from a manuscript which could not enjoy the constant and watchful attention of the writer) shall be found to provoke them. In this instance he must acknowledge inaccuracies consequent upon an anxiety to give as speedily as possible the most valuable and interesting work perhaps ever offered to the Catholics of Ireland.

It would be an idle display of devotion to the wide and universal celebrity of Doctor Milner, were the publisher to endeavour to add to his fame by the feebleness of his panegyric, or raise his literary reputation by the partiality of private regard. This would be impossible—but he felt it his duty to state that the faults of the present work *must* be the faults of the publisher, and its numerous excellencies *those* of the learned and distinguished author.

All Doctor Milner's works to be had at R. Coyne's, Capel-street.

TWO LETTERS, &c.

LETTER I.

My Dear Friend and Rt. Rev. Brother in Christ,

IN that incessant warfare which the spirits of darkness wage against the spiritual kingdom, promised from the beginning, and founded by Jesus Christ, you must have observed how the attacks upon it have varied, at different periods, as to their character and immediate object. During the first period, it was pagan persecution which threatened to drown the Church in her own blood : during the second, it was heretical sophistry which tried to alter the immutable character of her existence : during the third, it was barbaric violence which attempted to sweep her

off from the face of the earth : during the succeeding millenium of her comparative peace, it was human passion, chiefly avarice or ambition, which sought to undermine her constitution : at the beginning of the 16th century, it was heresy again, under the specious name of Reformation, which essayed to vitiate her pure and unchangeable tenets : and now, in this unhappy sixth age in which our lot is cast, the age of irreligion and professed infidelity, it is not the doctrine, but the discipline and jurisdiction of the Church which her enemies aim at overthrowing. They are content to let her live, so that she may be the slave of their worldly policy. We know from Revelation what the character of the seventh and last war against this spiritual kingdom will be, namely an Antichristian persecution far more terrible than that of Nero or Dioclesian, but at the same time far more happy and glorious in its issue : for then the enemies that shall *encompass the camp of the saints and the beloved city being devoured by fire coming from God out of heaven, and the devil who seduced them being cast into the pool of fire and brimstone—the kingdom of this world shall become our Lord's and his Christ's, and he shall reign for ever.* REV. XX. 8, 9. XI. 15.

But to consider the attacks made during our own time upon the spiritual rights and jurisdiction of the Church even in Catholic states, name-

ly in France, Spain, Naples, Tuscany, Austria and the Netherlands, how wanton as well as cruel have they not been ! We have seen priests driven at the point of the bayonet to administer the holy sacraments to Jansenistic heretics ; orthodox bishops banished from their sees for teaching the avowed doctrine of the Church ; missionaries hunted like wild beasts, for converting and civilizing barbarians ; the several religious monasteries and orders of the Church successively crushed from envy at the edification which they gave ; the education of the Church's ministers wrested from the hands of the Bishops into those of innovating Statesmen ; the confidential communication between the head and members of the Church uselessly as well as impiously violated ; in short, every part of our ecclesiastical discipline and spiritual authority invaded and outraged in one shape or another : and because such acts of tyranny have been committed by infidel or irreligious princes or ministers in despotic Catholic states, it is now contended that we Catholic Bishops and Clergy in this free kingdom are to concur towards the same oppression of ourselves. Again ; we have beheld a lay assembly, with the loud applause of numerous hirelings, attempting to create new bishoprics and parishes, and to transfer the power of constituting true Pastors from Christ's Vicar to promiscuous assemblies. Finally, we now behold our venerable and be-

loved father, Pope Pius VII. stripped of his principality and almost of the necessities of life, and languishing in confinement because he will not concur in establishing a wicked influence with respect to the choice of his successor and in the vain as well as wicked attempt of exciting your countrymen to rebellion. Oh, let Irish Catholics be sensible and never forget that Pius VII. is the martyr of his general zeal for the Catholic Church and of their particular welfare.*

The same has been the character of the several attempts on the doctrine and discipline of the little Catholic flock in this island which have been made during the last quarter of a century, that is to say, since a certain learned gentleman (whose late similar attempt on your great Catholic flock is the principal subject of the present Letters) became Secretary to the English Catholic Committee and, in that capacity, the manager, the director and the autocrat of all our political, and I may almost add of our religious

* See *Correspondenza Autentica*, between the courts of Paris and Rome, printed at Cagliari and reprinted at Palermo, from which it appears that the precise grounds of the persecution which the Pope is now enduring, are his refusal to give an undue influence to France in his choice of Cardinals, and his refusal to declare war against England, the object of which pretended war, as appears by the Pope's answer, was the foolish expectation of its being followed by disturbances in Ireland.

concerns.* These attempts are all marked with, and rise out of the prevailing disregard of the

* This gentleman has complained that I am animated with an uncharitable resentment against him : but the reverse of this is the case. His father was one of the most worthy and benevolent men, and one of the most pious and edifying Catholics whom I have ever had the happiness to know. His uncle, the great Alban, was the most learned scholar of his age and the glory of the ecclesiastical body to which I have the honour to belong. He himself is a man of very extensive natural talents, of indefatigable industry, of tried experience, moral, charitable to the poor, and frequently religious and even ascetical. He is at the head of his profession, as a conveyancer, and cultivates many other studies with success, except theology, which indeed he professes to apply to only by way of relaxation from his graver studies. This is a misfortune ; because to act upon a smattering of any one of the learned professions, is of worse consequence than to be totally ignorant of it. To be brief, I have no antipathy against the learned gentleman, but a great respect for him. But when I continually find him, during a whole quarter of a century, undermining the religion of which I am a pastor and a guardian, by the books which he publishes himself and encourages others to publish, and still more fatally by his secret negociations in England, in Ireland and at Rome, with clergy and laity, with Protestants and Dissenters, with ministers of all parties and all subdivisions of parties, from Lord North down to Mr. Perceval ; when I hear him lecturing his bishops, dictating new creeds, and modifying the ancient discipline, on his own theological judgment and assumed authority, I feel that it is my duty to oppose him in every way that seems most effectual for this purpose. Oh ! when will the day come which I confidently hope will come, when, instead of protesting in the name of God, against the authority of bishops in pronouncing on theological instruments, he will revoke and condemn those Blue Books in which such protests are to be

all-necessary spiritual jurisdiction and authority of the Church which, by Christ's appointment, are exclusively lodged in the hands of her pastors ! A brief chronological account of them from the abovementioned period down to the present time, will not only prove this assertion, but will also throw a blaze of light on many of the subjects of the present pamphlet which the author has studiously enveloped in darkness.

It was in 1786, if I remember right, that the late English Catholic Committee was formed, and that Mr. Charles Butler became the Secretary or rather the President of it. The first public instrument that I am acquainted with in its name is dated April 10, 1787. In this the lay theologian instructs the Catholics of England that their “ present ecclesiastical government by Vicars Apostolical is contrary to the primitive practice of the Church :” whereas it is notorious that our first Bishops, Fugatius and Damianus, as well as your Apostles, Palladius and Patrick and almost all the primitive missionary Bishops were, at the beginning mere Vicars Apostolic ! He then pronounces that English ordinaries being once “ chosen by their flock “ would be competent, **IN CONJUNCTION**

found ! What a blessed day will that be for the peace of Catholics and the health of his own soul !

“ WITH IT, to regulate every part of our national church-discipline.” I need not point out to you, my Dear Brother, what a complication of ecclesiastical democracy and schism is expressed or included in this outset of this Gentleman’s “ theological career” as he himself terms it. Towards the close of the following year the famous Act of *Protestation* was ushered into the world by him, under the auspices of two noble Lords, one of them a Protestant, the other a Catholic. He tells us that “ it was framed “ after long consideration, and attentive perusal “ of our best apologists, and conferring with “ ministers and the leading men of all parties.”* But he equivalently admits that no bishops or other divines were so much as consulted in the framing of it. In fact it appeared to us, at first sight, to be a deed of unexampled theological *inaccuracy*, though, in the end we found it to be one of *studied ambiguity* also. However, as we did not suspect this we pointed out the inaccuracies in question, and shewed that we might deny the charges imputed to us by our enemies, in terms perfectly correct and quite as energetic as those proposed to us. In return we were assured by the gentleman and his friends, that Protestant statesmen would not admit of the slightest change in the terms of the instrument,

* 1st Blue Book, p. 1.

and that, therefore, we must sign it, as it stood, or submit to all the imputations which it denied, that these personages did not see the inaccuracies which we complained of, and that therefore we might conscientiously subscribe to it, in the sense in which they understood it, inasmuch as (for so we were positively assured) *it was not to be reduced to the form of an oath*. By these arguments, and especially by that last mentioned, the Catholics in general, bishops and clergy no less than the laity, were induced to sign their names to the instrument. No sooner, however, was this effected than the Secretary forgetting all these explanations and assurances, set himself about drawing up a new exposition of our tenets to be sworn to by all Catholics, on the model, as he professed, of this very Protestation; though, in fact, he aggravated most of the inaccuracies contained in it and added new ones to them. But what deserves principally to be remarked is that our theological conveyancer took upon himself to draw up this creed, to be imposed by law on the Catholics of England, and even to alter their glorious and distinguishing family name, on the strength of his own private judgment and authority, without consulting the Church at all, in the persons of her head pastors. It is true he called together a few private clergymen of London to a tavern, and there, amidst dishes and glasses produced his novel symbol to be approved

of by them : but even this device failed. Nevertheless, confident in himself, he printed his favourite oath and new title in the Newspapers, and he actually delivered it to Mr. Mitford (now Lord Redesdale, whom of all other members of Parliament, he selected to be our patron) for the purpose of its being sanctioned by the legislature. As to the Vicars Apostolic, the only notice he took of them and of their complaints at these proceedings, was to send each of them a copy of the famous RED BOOK, which he wrote for their instruction upon these matters, being a MS. folio, bound in red leather and signed—Charles Butler, Lincoln's Inn, Sept. 1, 1789. In this elaborate dissertation our conveyancer teaches the Bishops that it is perfectly right and consistent with Catholic tenets for *Catholics* to go into a court of justice and swear that they are *Protesting Dissenters*, because they are accustomed to *protest* against the calumnies charged upon them, and because they *dissent* from the Church of England, and that it is very prudent in them to do so inasmuch as “the prominent feature” and chief merit of his Bill for their relief consisted in this proposed deception of the legislature and the public. He teaches them, secondly, that all and every one of their objections against his new oath, whether relating to the jurisdiction of the Church, the authority of the Pope, the dispensa-

tion of oaths, the forgiveness of sins, &c. are perfectly groundless and proceed from their ignorance of the matter. It is sufficient here to observe that whatever force there is in the whole dissertation rests on the Secretary's own confident assertions and his skill in juridical logic.

It was not, however, to be expected that Vicars Apostolic, who knew what was due to their station and what they themselves owed to God and his Church, especially that such men as Dr. Walmesley of the Western district and Dr. Matthew Gibson of the Northern, should surrender their crosiers into the hands of a London chamber-counsellor, and sacrifice their own weighty arguments against innovations to his chicanery and assurances. They accordingly held a synod on the subject in company with their coadjutors and other divines at Hammersmith, (where I also had the honour of being present,) on the 19th of October, in which the new oath and appellation were *unanimously* condemned. On the publication of their Encyclical Letter, in consequence of this synod, dated October 21, though it barely states that "the Vicars Apostolical had condemned a new form of oath, published in Woodfall's Register, June 26, 1789, and intended for Catholics, and that the faithful ought not to take any new oath or sign any new declaration in doctrinal matters, or sub-

“ scribe any new instrument wherein the interests
 “ of religion are concerned without the previous
 “ approbation of their respective Bishop,” the
 Secretary became quite outrageous and resolved
 upon appealing from the Vicars Apostolic to the
 English Catholics at large. This he performed
 in the course of a month from the last date, by
 printing the folio *Red Book* in a quarto size, the
 copies of which he distributed amongst the Ca-
 tholics exclusively. These copies being stitched
 up in paper of a dark blue colour and having no
 title to them, were called by us the *Blue Books*,
 and by your people the *Violet Books* : the Ita-
 lians called them *Libri Turchini*, and sometimes
Torchini from their tendency to inflame the laity
 against Popes and Bishops. It can never be suf-
 ficiently lamented that certain highly respectable
 names appear subscribed to this and the following
 Blue Books ; but as I have reason to believe that
 a great proportion of those subscribers never once
 perused the books, and as I have positive proof
 of its not being thought necessary that a distin-
 guished churchman, whose name appears signed
 to them, should have seen them or even consented
 to such use being made of his name, so I shall
 continue to consider the Secretary or rather the
 Director of our Committee, (like the Sovereign’s
 Prime Minister, with respect to his speeches) as
 exclusively answerable, *in Foro Exteriori*, for

the doctrines and sentiments contained in these schismatical publications.

The Bill, containing the new oath, was stopped in its progress for more than a twelvemonth. In the mean time the episcopal college and the cause of orthodoxy with it, were weakened and nearly overwhelmed in consequence of the death of two of the Vicars Apostolical, Dr. Mathew Gibson, and Dr. James Talbot. The danger was the greater as every effort was now made by the Secretary and his friends to realize that project, with which he had begun his career three years earlier, namely that of electing successors to the deceased Prelates by promiscuous assemblies, and then getting them consecrated by any Bishop who might be willing to sell his conscience for such a wicked purpose. This if carried into effect, would have made a downright schism between English Catholics and the rest of the Church, being precisely the same schism which the French National Assembly, with the hireling part of the clergy of France, had just then formed. The avowed object of it was to get obsequious Bishops and Clergy, such as would consent not only to the condemned oath and title, but also to that ulterior "regulation of every part of our national church discipline," which we had been instructed by the Secretary that "ordinaries, so chosen by their flocks, would be

“ *competent with those flocks to make.*” Many books were written by the *Protesting Catholic Dissenters*, for so they now signed themselves, in defence of the Secretary’s plan, and several by the old fashioned Roman Catholics, three of which works, you will recollect, came from my pen. At length the cause of orthodoxy and church discipline triumphed, when Dr. William Gibson and Dr. Douglass, who had been regularly recommended to His Holiness by the senior Vicar Apostolic, the immortal Walmesley, and supported by myself and his other adherents, were consecrated in Lulworth Chapel. These new Bishops did not fail to realize the high expectations which the Catholic Church, as well as the English Catholics had formed of them. Undaunted by the fear of opposition and disregarding all self-interested considerations, they joined with their venerable consecrator in confirming the synodical decision of October 13th, 1789, by a fresh Encyclical Letter dated January 21, 1791. This proved still more mortifying to the Director than the former had been. Accordingly, in the short space of twelve days, with the assistance of a clerical coadjutor, he got up his Second Blue Book, being much more copious than the former in its contents and much more virulent in its abuse of Popes and Bishops. This you will suppose from its conclusion, which consists of a solemn protest, under a threefold

invocation of God's holy name, against the two abovementioned very modest and edifying Encyclical Letters. These are qualified "arbitrary" "unjust encroaching on our natural, civil and" "religious rights, inculcating principles hostile" "to society and government, &c."

Thus the Bishops and the Roman Catholics were fairly at issue with the Secretary and his Protesting Catholic Dissenters; the question between them being whether the pastors of God's Church or a lay conveyancer had the better claim to pronounce upon the orthodoxy of an oath, involving the deepest and most important questions of theology, and upon the propriety of retaining or renouncing one of the marks of the true Church. The latter had every worldly advantage on his side, and he was so confident of success that I well remember he laughed me to scorn when I told him that we should find friends in Parliament. The Bishops had no other effective supporters in London than Mr. Weld, the Rev. Charles Plowden with his brother Francis and myself. Nevertheless, with the help of a good cause and plain honest dealing, under the divine protection, we gained not only a complete but also an easy victory. The chief debate took place in the House of Commons on the 1st of March, when Lord Redesdale, according to his instructions, whilst he extolled the Protesting

Catholic Dissenters up to the skies heavily depressed us poor Papists, whom he accused of having, in certain instances, actually starved to death some of the former. One short hand bill, endorsed *A state of the contest amongst the Catholics*, which I had caused to be delivered to the Members as they entered their House, blunted the edge of all this abuse, and brushed down all the Secretary's cobweb projects which he had been almost two years in spinning. Mr. Pitt, after perusing the paper, said that he had been "mistaken in the great outlines of the Bill;" the then Attorney General declared, in his place, that we "had proved ourselves to be as deserving of relief as our rivals;" and a leading man amongst the Dissenters, who is still an ornament to Parliament, the Hon. W. S. said to me; "Our grand objection against your people is that we think them not sufficiently scrupulous about the obligation of oaths: but now when we see that you are so much more strict on that head than the other party, we will support you in preference to them." And of what do you suppose this hand bill consisted? Of nothing more than half a dozen short extracts from the Blue Books in defence of the new appellation and oath, and of the same number of brief plain answers to those extracts. In fact it was found impossible to retract the former and equally impossible to reply to the latter. Thus, on the

memorable night of March 1, 1791, was “ the
 “ leading feature” of Mr. C. Butler’s Bill, as he
 had termed the schismatical appellation,* anni-
 hilated and the heterodox oath shattered in sev-
 eral of its parts. The title of *Protesting and Dis-*
senters, under which the Bill had been brought
 into Parliament, was absolutely interdicted, and
 in fact does not appear annexed to the very pa-
 pers in the Blue Books published subsequently to
 that date. With respect to the oath, it was then
 decided that either our consciences should be sa-
 tisfied or that the Bill should be rejected. In the
 end we obtained your approved and orthodox
 form of oath. This was a most blessed event,
 not only with respect to English but also to fo-
 reign Catholics : for as on one hand, the schis-
 matical clergy of France already boasted, in their
 printed Acts, of having gained over the Secre-
 tary’s friends to their communion, so on the other
 nothing is more certain than that if the thou-
 sands of confessors of the faith who landed on
 our coasts soon after the Bill was passed had been
 required to subscribe themselves *Protesting Dis-*
senters and to take Mr. Butler’s heterodox oath,
 they would one and all have exclaimed, “ Send
 “ us back to the lantern and the guillotine ; we
 “ have not preserved the name and faith of
 “ Catholics at the risk of life in our own country
 “ to renounce them here, in a land of exile.”

* Red Book. 1st Blue Book, p. 2.

It is true the learned gentleman had recourse to two devices in favour of his oath ; one before it was totally rejected by Parliament, the other to save its reputation afterwards : but as these partook of the same crooked policy which had dictated the oath itself, so they came to the same disgraceful end with it. The first of these consisted in privately printing and circulating amongst the leading Protestants exclusively, a paper called *A State of Facts* which described me, though the avowed agent of the English Bishops and their adherents, as the only individual Catholic who objected to the oath, and which referred to a list of those who had signed the Protestation, (copies of which list were presented with the copies of the paper) as to persons who all then supported the obnoxious oath ! Among these names were those of the Bishops themselves, on whose behalf I acted. You may be sure due care was taken that the name of John Milner, though actually subscribed to the original, should not appear in these printed copies, as the appearance of that would have led to an explanation, and defeated the whole object of the furtive hand bill. If you wish to see an account of the strange embarrassment of the Secretary and the wretched shifts to which he was reduced on my discovery of this plot and my reproaching him with it, you will find it in the

Second *Appendix* to my *Ecclesiastical Democracy Detected*. The other device was that of singing *Te Deum* after a defeat. We had succeeded in getting the Secretary's oath, which in fact was built on the Protestation, though far worse than it thrown out of Parliament, and your Irish oath of 1774 established by law as the proper mode of our *protesting* against the calumnies imputed to us. However, to throw a kind of false glare over the degraded Protestation, this gentleman bethought himself of getting it lodged in the British Museum. Having then procured a majority of votes for this purpose, at a Tavern Meeting, (though Bishop Douglas, on his own part and that of his colleagues, and almost all the clergy present voted against it,) he undertook to carry the measure into effect. Fortunately, however, for the cause of orthodoxy and the credit of the English Catholics our diplomatic Secretary substituted a fabricated copy for the original, and to this spurious production he annexed the names of the 1800 Catholics who had been imposed upon to sign the original, as also a copious and false commentary of his own upon it, the existence of which his most intimate friends were ignorant of, 'till I had occasion to expose it. The glaring differences between the Original Protestation, as first printed to obtain our signatures, and as *certified by the Secretary himself to be accurately printed*, have been carried to demonstrative evi-

dence by the Rev. Charles Plowden* and myself† in the pamphlets which we published in answer to printed challenges on this head, and may still be ascertained by any intelligent man, who will compare the abovementioned certified publication with the parchment, now in a tin case at the Museum. Such numerous and humiliating defeats, could not fail of bringing the learned gentleman into disgrace with the honourable persons who had employed him. Accordingly, since this controversy about the authenticity of the Protestation, (without however relaxing the least in his endeavours to manage and direct every act and concern of the Catholics, and to influence every person of the least consequence among them) he has never chosen to publish his name or to appear openly in these concerns, till the present occasion when he comes forward in his own character to direct the Catholics of Ireland, in opposition to their native Bishops.

But it is essential that I should keep up the chain of my chronology; hence I must mention different events (some of them better known to you than they are to myself) and make several observations before I enter upon the business im-

* A Reply to the Report of the Cisalpine Club on the Authenticity of the Protestation.

† Letter to the Cisalpine Club.

mediately before us. In 1771, an additional salary of £10. making £40. per annum in the whole, was granted to your priests who chose to renounce their religion. In 1774 your people obtained of the legislature an orthodox oath of allegiance. In 1778 they procured some scanty relief. In 1792 they presumed to *hope* for further relief, but that hope was spurned at.* In 1793 they gained greater privileges than they had even hoped for,† and greater than they were entitled to, in case they still deserved to be treated as slaves. This they demonstrated in 1794, when in consequence of the physical rather than the moral strength of their cause, Mr. Pitt sent over Lord Fitzwilliam to unchain them. Of this wise act, however, he was soon induced, no matter by what means, to repent, when it became necessary to resort to the old policy of dividing the Irish for the purpose of governing them, and of ultimately suppressing their national legislature. To you and to those who knew Ireland there is nothing very surprizing in the open civil war and the extermination of whole counties of Catholics in the North which now took place; but when these and similar proceedings were conducted by the magistracy and connived at by government

* An Address was this year rejected because it mentioned *hopes*.

† The elective franchise.

for six or eight months together, we may be sure that the latter had some great object in view. In short the rebellion of 1798 took place: Ireland was inundated with blood, and effectually divided and weakened, which being effected the proposal of the Union was made to the several parties with the prospect of benefit to each of them. In fact the Protestant interest was insured in its ascendancy, and the great landholders were indemnified in solid coin for their parliamentary interest, while the Catholic laity and clergy were paid with promises. There was, however, this difference between the promises made to the former and the latter, that the Minister really intended to emancipate the laity, provided he should find it convenient to do so, which he never did; whereas, so far from your religion being *secured and honoured and established in Ireland*, (as some of your venerable brethren were led to believe when they treated with his agent in 1799) it now appears from the confession of this very agent, that it was to be shackled and made subservient to the interests of an adverse Church, and that you yourselves were to be made dependent on a Protestant ministry instead of the chair of St. Peter, for your offices and the management of them with an express exclusion of the discipline of the Council of Trent.*

* See Lord Castlereagh's Speech in the revised Report of the last Catholic Debate, published by Keating and Co.

It is true this titled agent would have us believe that Mr. Pitt, in subsidizing the Catholic Prelates and assuming the appointment of them aimed at nothing more than securing their loyalty, as if he entertained any real doubts or fears on this head ! and that he did *not wish to be troubled* with any degree of *substantial patronage* over our church : Oh ! no to be sure, not even to turn the scale in a contested election ! In opposition to Lord Castlereagh's assurances as to the real object of the Minister in wishing to subsidize the Irish Prelacy and to interfere in their appointment, I will mention the following circumstance of a fact which took place in the year preceding the one in question, and to which his Lordship refers in his speech. When Mr. Pitt affixed the seal of his office to a very moderate annuity in favour of the Catholic Bishops and Clergy of Scotland, which I am sure was very purely and unsuspectingly accepted of by them, he said, " This is the best bargain I ever made " in my life : I have gained the greatest power " with the least money." Such was the case also with the ten most upright Prelates of Ireland, who were drawn into a communication with the great agent of the Union in 1799. They did not see into Mr. Pitt's real object, as it is now unfolded, not only by Lord Castlereagh, but also by Lord Grenville. Had it been barely hinted to them that they were expected to re-

nounce the discipline of Trent, they would have stopped their ears with horror, and run away from the negociator. They treated upon the sole ground of giving another test of their loyalty; they stipulated for the consent of Rome and for their own *due influence*, or controuling power. This implies all the restrictions which I afterwards proposed, but which were rejected. After all, these Resolutions of the ten individual Prelates were never acted upon, were never accepted, were never so much as made known either in England or in Ireland. Not even Sir John Hippisley or the Ex-Secretary was acquainted with them till *after* the debates of 1808.

But, though the Resolutions were not known, and therefore of no avail, yet, ever since the King's scruples were talked of, that is to say immediately after the Union, the subject of allowing some kind of power to the Crown in the appointment of our Prelates was always more or less in agitation among our political friends and the Catholics themselves. You and others of your brethren as well as some of my English brethren are witnesses of the fears that I expressed in 1807 that a storm was ready to break over our heads on this subject, and the Noble Lord who carried your petitions through this town backward and forward knows how often and how earnestly I warned him never to consent to the

uncanonical proposal of Catholic Prelates being, in any way, chosen by persons who themselves were not Catholics. Your last Petition but one was fixed for debate at the end of May 1808, at which time I went up to London, as your agent, to lend it what little support was in my power, and still more to oppose any violation of your ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which might be attempted in consequence of it. The morning after my arrival there I was conducted by Lord Fingal to Mr. Ponsonby, when I gave the latter my opinion, on the subjects which he proposed to me, with truth and frankness, but without a suspicion that this opinion and much less a proposal grounded on it, was to be brought before Parliament. With the same unguarded confidence I wrote a *hasty memorandum* to the Rt. Hon. Gentleman on a variety of matters, but *not as a studied project*, such as I was willing should be laid before the public in any shape whatever. Hence when I heard it asserted and saw it printed that I had authorized a proposal which tended to make the King as much the head of the Catholic as of the Established Church, I was struck with inexpressible horror. Accordingly I hastened to the press, and printed a Protest against the proposal which Protest the Rt. Hon. Gentleman himself the next day consented to my circulating. I shewed it also to Lord Grenville, previously to his opening the Debate in the House of Lords.

It is true that whilst I was under the idea of your Prelates agreeing to a strictly limited Veto, I printed a paper, called *A Letter to a Parish Priest*, in explanation and defence of it; being intended as a mere problematical essay for their consideration, and therefore sent by me exclusively to Bishops, not as a thesis on which I had ultimately made up my mind. As I was greatly mortified when I first saw it published, so I have since heartily revoked and condemned it.* Your synod having at length resolved that “It is inexpedient to make any alteration in the present canonical mode of appointing Bishops.” I not only submitted to it, but also clearly saw that you had followed the only safe course in a business of more consequence than all the kingdoms of the world. But how much more warmly did I approve of your decision when, in the course of two months afterwards, I clearly ascertained that the restricted Veto, such as I had for a time advocated, would not satisfy our political friends, but that they required one unrestricted, both as to the number of times and the motive of

* It is because I have protested against the sense affixed to my note addressed to Mr. Ponsonby, and because I have condemned my *Letter to a Parish Priest* that my opponent now republishes them. Well let him continue to reprint them, provided he will follow my example in explaining those of his writings which require to be explained, and in retracting those which ought to be retracted.

its exercise, and that its real object was to give additional strength to the religious not the civil establishment of the country ; a measure which no true Catholic can ever concur in. During no part of this or the preceding periods had our Ex-Secretary been idle : on the contrary, though concealed from the public eye, he was ever exerting his great talents and the influence which he had acquired over persons of different parties professions and religions in England, Ireland and at Rome, for the advancing of his projects. I found him more actively than usefully interfering in my controversy with Dr. Sturges, in Sir Harry Mildmay's Bill against the Nuns, in the appointment to my present station, and in my being nominated to be your agent. In 1809 I recognized him, under various disguises very harmlessly engaged in stimulating your countrymen to present another petition, though he was far from being then sincere in his professed opposition to the Veto.

We are now descending fast to the present period, and the existing controversy. At the beginning of last year, namely on the 13th of January, I put forth a paper in Mr. Cobbet's Register, complaining of the persecution exercised on the Catholic soldiers in Spain, which paper I concluded with the friendly advice to our political friends, not to insist on the vexatious measure

of the Veto ; predicting that, “ if they did persist in it, your countrymen would consider it “ as a choice of evils between them and their “ enemies.” Twelve days after this, appeared the celebrated Letter of Lord Grenville, a nobleman for whom I shall ever entertain the greatest veneration, on account of his talents, his private virtues, his patriotism, and especially his important services to our Religion, on two critical occasions ; but whom my duty to this Religion forces me to withstand on the present occasion. The purport of this letter was to signify that we were not to expect the aid of his mighty powers on our behalf in future upon any other terms, than those of our entering into arrangements for securing the Established Church, and for admitting an effectual Protestant controul over the appointment of our head pastors, which implied that you were to revoke the Synodical Resolution which you had passed sixteen months before, amidst thunders of applause from every shore of your island. It was vainly imagined, that if the English Catholic Meeting which was appointed to be held on the ensuing 1st of February, should signify their acquiescence in this requisition, it would induce the Irish Bishops and lay Committee to do the same. Accordingly a Resolution, containing the essential meaning of the letter and nearly in the words of it, was handed to our managers on the 29th of January, and though

they were deeply pledged in numerous letters not to adopt any measure in the general concern, and least of all respecting the Veto, except in conjunction with and as secondary to your more powerful exertions, they agreed to the Resolution, which as I have intimated, contained every thing of the Veto, except the name. Still one of the gentlemen, whose word and honour were particularly implicated in the letters, trembled for the consequences of the Resolution when it should become public, and it is owing to his exertions, during the three intermediate days, that the clause in it, expressing a willingness to admit of an arrangement respecting *the appointment of Bishops* was left out. When proposed to me at a dinner on the evening of the 31st, I argued in the strongest manner I could on the necessity of the English Catholics acting in concert with their brethren in Ireland, and of Catholic Bishops holding the same language in religious matters all the world over. In opposition to this it was contended, that the cause of the English stood upon a different ground from that of the Irish, and that, by opposing my countrymen I had vacated my seat as an English Prelate. At the meeting on the following morning, two of my brethren who were present, voted with me against the Resolution, though afterwards, while my back was turned, being misled by a downright falsehood concerning me, they

were induced to sign it in the form of a Petition to Parliament.

The grand question now amongst us was, how all these measures in England would succeed in Ireland, to which country indeed they were all principally directed ; when, in a very short time, my three predictions were exactly verified ; and the respectable gentleman who had been most urgent with me to hold a different conduct candidly owned, that *I had acted right, and that he, in my situation and with my knowledge of circumstances, would have acted in the same manner.* To be brief, your Committee sent orders to their agent to get their Petition presented to the House of Lords, but not through Lord Grenville ; in the second place, they directed him to hold no communication with the English Catholics ; and thirdly, your venerable brethren resumed their Synod and therein (after asserting the rights of our persecuted Pontiff, their own rights, as the judges of faith and discipline, and their loyalty to the Sovereign, in sixteen Resolutions which will for ever shine bright in the annals of this century) they voted their unanimous thanks in a seventeenth Resolution, to their episcopal agent in England, for his “ firmness in opposing a
“ vague, indefinite Declaration (the fifth Reso-
“ lution of the St. Alban’s Tavern Meeting)
“ pledging Roman Catholics to an eventual ac-

“ quiescence in arrangements possibly prejudi-
 “ cial to the integrity and safety of our Church
 “ discipline.” This your seventeenth Resolu-
 tion, which I took care to communicate to the
 gentleman, as soon as I received it, was quite a
 thunderbolt: it astounded him, and it crushed
 his favourite fifth Resolution to atoms. Recover-
 ing himself, however, in some degree, he had
 recourse to his usual expedients for covering the
 reputation, at least, of the latter. The first of
 these consisted in an attempt to terrify you into
 a disavowal of your Synodical act, and of me your
 agent. For this purpose, as you will remember, a
 letter was written to you, dated London, March
 17, 1810, in which, amidst many hollow compli-
 ments to your dignity, &c. your seventeenth Re-
 solution is declared to be “ *a fabrication—a spu-*
 “ *rious libel—awkward malice—intended to for-*
 “ *ward dangerous views and slanders.*” It con-
 cludes with a threat that “ as long as Dr. M. con-
 “ tinues exposed to such uncontradicted libels as
 “ this vote of thanks, and a late infamous letter
 “ in the Irish papers, signed *Detector*, he will be
 “ precluded from holding any future communi-
 “ cation with his Catholic countrymen on their
 “ political interests ;* ” that is to say, until you

* A certain young gentleman who condescends to be agent
 to the conveyancer, has endeavoured to realize this threat, and
 to shut the doors of all the Catholics against me. But, if he
 could succeed in this ridiculous attempt, my duty as a preacher

retract your Synodical act, the English Catholics will hold no communication with me, or rather with you, who passed the vote and whose agent I was : and all this insulting language to a Catholic Hierarchy and a Canonical Synod, is written *in the name of the Board of English " Catholics "* and of my *" Catholic countrymen "* in general ! This ridiculous attempt to frighten Irish Prelates into an immoral as well as a dishonourable act failing, the next was that of endeavouring to prevent your Resolution from becoming known in England, by laying an embargo on the different Newspapers and other presses in London ; but this also being after a certain time, defeated, no resource remained but that of impugning the known truth. Accordingly in the late thin folio, labelled *Roman Catholic Petitions, &c.* 1810, in quoting the sixteen Resolutions of your Synod it is termed, *" The Concluding Resolution, &c. "* thereby signifying to the public, what had before been asserted to your faces, that your seventeenth Resolution is a forgery : and though, in my last publication I complained of this imposition, the *gentleman* is not ashamed to repeat it in his present pamphlet, again entitling the sixteenth Re-

of truth is marked out to me by my master : *Shake off their very dust from your feet in testimony against them.* Oh ! that I could make this young man sensible how far preferable the respect of true Catholics and conscious virtue is to a vote of thanks, an inscribed tea-urn and £1000 !

solution “ the *Concluding* Resolution of the Irish
“ Prelates, &c.”

At the conclusion of last May the Catholic question came on to be once more agitated in Parliament, when my firm adherence to the cause of honour and truth, in refusing to sanction what Mr. Ponsonby had inadvertently advanced in his place, two years before, on one hand, and to accept of Mr. Perceval's compliments in the *Morning Post* with the view of my countenancing a direct attack on that gentleman's moral character on the other, having caused them both to make speeches against me, the gentleman and his agents took care to inundate both islands with Newspaper reports of those illogical effusions. Not content with this, the agents got together about thirty Catholics to vote that they were “ not responsible for my political conduct and “ writings,” alluding particularly to my recent *Elucidation of the Veto*, which had produced a very powerful and happy effect. Had I published in the Newspapers, that I was not responsible for the *theology* of several of those Catholics, at the same time naming them, I am well assured they would have been quite unable to defend it, whereas nothing was so easy as to defend my *politics*, since these consisted in nothing else but plain honesty and conscience, and in refusing to be a party to that crooked policy in which my

opponent was then engaged. Accordingly I demonstrated this in the Statesman Newspaper, professing at the same time a cordial charity towards the subscribers in general, but calling upon them, as gentlemen and as men, to force their fee'd writer and manager to meet me under his own name, in the fair field of open argument on the principal subjects of our differences. Thus constrained he, at length, comes forward with an averted countenance, but still without a vizor. I rejoice at the determination, not from an ambition of measuring *my strength*, but *my cause* with his, the cause of ecclesiastical subordination and unity with that of insubordination and anarchy. It will now appear what credit is to be given to those confident assertions, those juridical evasions, and that ostensible respect for the Church and its pastors, which the writer of the Blue Books so largely deals in. Having failed in a late attempt to get his English Blue Books, Protest and all,* reprinted in Ireland † in order

* In a printed Letter now before me, dated Lincoln's Inn, July 11, 1791, Mr. Charles Butler writes as follows : " The Protest and Appeal (against the Bishops) has been the subject of my most serious consideration ; but the reasons which make me think it a defensible measure, would swell this letter into a dissertation."

† The publisher of the Blue Books experiencing some inconvenience from the report of his attempt to get them reprinted in Ireland, tried to induce the person whom he had applied to for this purpose, to deny the fact before a witness,

to dispose your flocks for the general duty of religious respect and submission to their pastors, he now addresses a fresh Blue Book written expressly for their use, under the title of *A Letter to an Irish Catholic Gentleman on the Fifth Resolution*, in order to shew them what account they are to make of your synodical decree, pronouncing it “vague, indefinite, and possibly prejudicial to our Church discipline.” I shall resume the subject in a future letter : in the mean time

I remain, &c.

J. M.

Wolverhampton, March 20.

addressing him in the terms made use of to induce the Irish Prelates to disavow their seventeenth Resolution, namely, “I anticipate your answer, &c.” But that person was a countryman of the Prelates, an honest man and a sincere Catholic : the attempt of course, failed.

LETTER II.

My Dear Friend and Rt. Rev. Brother in Christ,

YOU and most of the leading Catholics of Ireland will by this time have seen *A Letter to an Irish Catholic Gentleman on the Fifth Resolution of a Meeting of English Catholics, February 1, 1810, by Charles Butler, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn.* It is addressed to *one* gentleman ; but it is intended for the *whole* of your gentry and nobility : it pretends to be a defence of the *English*, but it is an attempt upon the *Irish* ; it professes great *veneration* for the authority of your Prelates ; but it is a direct *attack* upon the solemn act of your united body : it appears to reprobate *every species* of Veto ; but is calculated to dispose your people to accept of *any species* of it which he, the framer of the heterodox oath and schismatical appellation of 1791, shall find it convenient to arrange with Protestant Statesmen. In short this *Irish Blue Book* is as specious in its appear-

ance but as mischievous in its effects as the *English Blue Books* were. Since the same object is now in view, the same means are now employed, and the same politician now directs them, as twenty years ago, what so just, what so prudent then as to look back to the history of that period, in order to gain light for our conduct at the present? This is the principal object I had before my eyes in my former chronological letter.

I. Mr. Butler divides his book into eight positions. The first of them is this: "The Veto originated among you," Irish Catholics. This he afterwards explains by referring to two different periods and transactions; the communication of the ten Irish Prelates in 1799 with Lord Castlereagh, and the proposal made in Parliament by Mr. Ponsonby in May, 1808. The proposition taken either way, is flatly contradicted by the two Noble Lords who were heretofore colleagues in office, but who now hardly agree in any point except in giving the Veto an English original, and referring it to the head of Mr. Pitt, at the time when he planned the Union. Lord Grenville is reported to have expressed himself as follows,* in his speech of May 27, 1808:

* The following extracts from the Debates on the Catholic question in 1808, are quoted from the Report printed for Faulder, and edited by certain Catholics of distinction. The extracts from those of 1810, are taken from the revised

“ The removal of *civil* disabilities is *only a part*
 “ of a large and comprehensive system. It was
 “ so considered by that great statesman now no
 “ more. Our opinions on this subject were not
 “ only in complete unison, but, I may truly say,
 “ were framed together by mutual communica-
 “ tion and unreserved confidence. The plans
 “ which were then in contemplation, embraced
 “ the whole ecclesiastical state of Ireland, its
 “ religious establishments in all their various
 “ branches. If you tolerate the Catholic Church,
 “ which is episcopal, you must, of course, allow
 “ it to have its Bishops, but it is unquestionably
 “ proper that the *Crown should exercise an effec-*
 “ *tual negative over the appointment of the per-*
 “ *sons called to exercise those functions.* To me
 “ it is NOT NEW, *I always felt the propriety of*
 “ *providing for this point.* It formed a part of
 “ *the plans intended to be brought forward at the*
 “ *period of the Union.*” His Lordship expresses
 himself to the same effect, as to the origin as
 well as the necessity of the Veto, in his Letter to

speeches, lately printed by Keating and Brown. For a true
 account of what was actually spoken in Parliament, I greatly
 prefer the Reports of the Morning Chronicle or of any other
 respectable Newspaper (with the exception of the Globe and
 the Press, these papers being under the guidance of our Ex-
 Secretary,) but as the speeches in those books have, in gen-
 eral, been revised by the speakers, I take them as containing
 at least the second thoughts of the orators.

Lord Fingal.* Let us now attend to what Mr. Pitt's agent in Ireland at the time of the Union, Lord Castlereagh, said on the subject in his speech of May 25th, 1810. Describing " the " feelings and impressions under which Mr. Pitt's " government contemplated, at the period of " the Union, the possibility of effecting a general settlement," he adds: " Upon the ecclesiastical part of the arrangement I was *authorized* in 1799 to communicate with the Catholic clergy." After much vague and inaccurate talking about the discipline of Catholics in foreign countries, both Catholic and Protestant, his Lordship proceeds to inveigh heavily against the alleged obstinacy of the Irish Catholics in *adhering to the discipline of the Council of Trent*, after which he says: " Upon such principles *concession never was contemplated by Mr. Pitt*, or " those who acted with him at the time of the " Union. They had no desire to interfere with " the discipline of the Roman Catholics, as far " as it regarded matters of worship, *but in so far as it concerned the appointment of their " clergy, especially the titular Bishops, and " more particularly the intercourse of the Roman*

* John Joseph Dillon who more than intimates that his information is derived from the Noble Baron, declares himself to be now satisfied that the plan of the Veto " originated in a " great and exalted mind;" meaning Mr. Pitt's. See his Two Memoirs. Appendix p. 7.

“ *Catholic body with the see of Rome* ; they de-
 “ sired to see it *brought under such regulations,*
 “ as, without imposing any degrading depend-
 “ ence on the Crown, might dissipate the im-
 “ pression of alarm, &c.”* Upon the credit
 then of these two Noble Lords, speaking of a
 business in which they themselves were con-
 cerned, I aver it to be a falsehood that the Veto,
 or plan of giving to the Crown a power of inter-
 fering in the appointment of Catholic Bishops,
originated with the Irish, as Mr. B. asserts, and
 that, on the contrary, it originated with Mr.
 Pitt. In consequence also of what Lord Castle-
 reagh now declares, I maintain that the ten Pre-
 lates who communicated with him at the period
 in question, were greatly imposed upon. For
 had his Lordship once hinted that it was expected
 from them to renounce the discipline of the Coun-
 cil of Trent, they would have turned their backs
 upon him with as much disdain as if he had re-
 quired of them to give up one of the seven sacra-
 ments.

Nor did the mention of the Veto in 1808,
 originate either with the Irish Bishops or laity ;
 since it is admitted, on all hands, that in my
 conference with the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ponsonby, I
 repeatedly declared, *I had no instructions on the*

subject from Ireland ; in consequence of which declaration I was directed to write thither for instructions. This passed on Saturday, May 21, and the proposal was made in the House of Commons on the following Wednesday, May 25th. Of course no instructions could have arrived from thence in time to sanction the proposal. Nor was this proposal any way authorized by me, the agent of the Irish Bishops, as Mr. P. himself has now candidly and publicly declared. His words, as reported, are these : “ The Rt. Hon. Gentleman
 “ (Mr. Ryder) has stated to the House that *the*
 “ *accredited agent* of the Catholic Bishops had
 “ *authorized me to make a proposal to this House*
 “ *in their name*. Now he is perfectly *incorrect* in
 “ this statement. *I never said any such thing*.
 “ I stated I had reason *to believe* that the Catho-
 “ lic Bishops and Clergy of Ireland and the Ca-
 “ tholics in general were *disposed* to give the
 “ Crown an effectual negative to the nomination
 “ of their Bishops, and when I was asked for
 “ my authority, I answered that it was Dr. Mil-
 “ ner.”* Here then is the testimony of Mr. Ponsonby himself in my favour. He expressly denies that I authorized him to make any proposal to the House, and he as expressly states, that in the communications between us I had barely given him “ reason to *believe*” that there was a

disposition in Ireland to grant the Crown a negative. Only two minor points then remain to be cleared up: 1st. Did I give my opinion concerning the presumed disposition of the Bishops, (for I never gave so much as an opinion about the disposition of any other persons) with the view or idea of its being proposed in Parliament? I answer: NO, and it is absurd to suppose that I had such a view or idea: 2dly. Was my *opinion*, whatever my views might be, a sufficient ground for the introduction of so important and delicate a matter into Parliament? This point I leave to the judgment of wise and experienced men. Mr. Whitbread has publicly decided upon it, when he said: "I confess I think it (the Veto) was prematurely brought forward by my Rt. Hon. Friend."*

Mr. B. proceeds to declare as follows: "Often as the Catholic concerns have been canvassed over in public and private meetings, in open and confidential conversations both by Protestants and Catholics, and numerous as are the books and pamphlets and publications upon them, it is not in my recollection, that, before the late mention of a Veto in the House of Commons, the word Veto, or any thing which expresses or implies, or can be thought to ex-

“ press or imply it was ever mentioned or hinted
 “ at by a single Catholic on this side of the
 “ channel.” What must several distinguished
 persons, both Protestants and Catholics, whom
 I could name, think of a man, who, professing
 to be acquainted with all that has been canvassed
 relative to the Catholic concerns, not only in
 public, but also in *private meetings*, not only in
 open but also in *confidential conversations*, denies
 his ever having heard of proposals for vesting
 even the absolute *patronage* of our Bishoprics in
 the Crown; to say nothing of Vetos and other
 limitations of that measure! But when he ap-
 peals to *publications*, he appeals to downright
 evidence against himself. Has he then never
 read the celebrated letters of Peter Plimley, so
 called, published previously to the Debate in
 question, and the following passage among others?
 “ To my *certain knowledge* the Catholics have
 “ long since *expressed to his Majesty’s Ministers*
 “ their perfect readiness to *vest* in his Majesty,
 “ either with the consent of the Pope, or *with-*
 “ *out it*, if it cannot be obtained, *the nomination*
 “ *of the Catholic Prelacy.*”* Did he never see
 his friend, Mr. M’Kenna’s pamphlets, in one of
 which the writer declares that “ There exists the
 “ utmost readiness to give satisfaction on this
 “ head,” that of nominating to Catholic digni-

* Letter ix. p. 30.

ties? Or does he pretend to be a stranger to the following declaration of one of our leading and best informed Catholics of distinction, in which he speaks of the Royal patronage as a thing which had not only been canvassed but also unanimously agreed upon, among English Catholics: "Government has only to signify that it is their wish that the King in future should have the nomination of the Catholic Bishops. This will be conceded."† Finally, I should like to ask this learned gentleman, who so confidently denies that any intimation of a ministerial interference with our Catholic appointments is to be found in books, or pamphlets published before the debate of 1808, whether he ever read those "invaluable publications of our invaluable friend" Sir John Hippisley, to which he so confidently refers ‡ in which the author positively declares that he himself "antedecedently to the Union suggested to his Majesty's Government a regulation providing that lists of persons recommended to fill vacant titular sees or deaneries, previous to their transmission to Rome, should be communicated to his Majesty's Ministers."§ The work from

* Preface to the Petition of 1807. p. 16.

† Considerations on the Catholic Debate of 1805, by Sir John Throckmorton, Bart. p. 148. ‡ Letter, p. 14.

§ Substance of Addit. Observat. p. 117.

which I quote was first printed in 1805, and it refers, as you see, to a period antecedent to the Union. Who, after seeing all this will be imposed upon by the confidence of Mr. C. Butler's declarations !

II. Mr. Butler's second position is this :—
 “ *Your Offer*,” that is to say the offer of you, the Catholics of Ireland, “ of the Veto produced
 “ on the public mind a strong impression in your
 “ favour.” As to the fact here assumed by Mr. B. it is notoriously false, as your General Committee assembled at D’Arcy’s Hotel on the 24th of last April, expressly voted, and as was still more emphatically expressed by almost all Ireland in the numerous Assemblies which were held on the subject upwards of two years ago. It is a marked insult to Catholic Ireland to charge her with having “ made an offer of the
 “ Veto.” And as to the alleged beneficial consequences of the unauthorized proposal of it, on the 25th of May, 1808, if we may believe Mr. Whitbread, “ it did not make one convert to the
 “ cause.”* This declaration is supported by the printed speeches of Mr. Perceval, Mr. Saunders Dundas, Lord Liverpool, the Lord Chancellor and their supporters in both Houses of Parliament.

III. Mr. B. continues: “ *The recal of the Veto* “ made a strong impression against you.” Here is the same deliberate mis-statement as before. The Veto never was recalled, because it was never granted. It is true that an absurd as well as false idea had been impressed on the public mind that the Catholics “ had agreed to make the King virtually head of their Church,” (2) and that this idea of the Catholics being prepared to go over to the established religion, had disposed many of its professors to receive them as proselyted brethren. It is also true that the dissipation of this illusion caused a reflux of religious bigotry against us; but this effect which is the natural consequence of a delusion being dissipated, is not to be ascribed to the persons who were not implicated in it, but to those who were. Thus the learned Gentleman’s heterodox oath of 1791, being a work of falsehood and deception, when it came to be exposed, fell in ruins on the head of its inventor. And so also, when it shall appear, as it will appear, that a majority of those English Catholics who signed the Fifth Resolution will not abide by what our Parliamentary friends consider as the natural sense of it, they will be overwhelmed with reproaches, and will clearly see how much better they would have consulted their worldly reputation by rejecting it, than by subscribing to it. Having reproached your Bishops for the “ strangeness” of your decision in 1808,

the Gentleman goes on to make an empty apology for it, the substance of which is that Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox were both alive in 1799, and that they were both dead in 1808. You and I know that your synodical decision against a change in your discipline, had no connection whatever with the existence or non-existence of either of those statesmen. The arguments which you made use of as I well remember, were to the following effect: “ Why are we, who have given
 “ such pregnant proofs of our loyalty and peace-
 “ able conduct singled out among all the reli-
 “ gious societies, differing from the establish-
 “ ment, to be thus shackled? If it were lawful
 “ and expedient to make a change in our disci-
 “ pline, the marked opposition of our flocks to it
 “ ought to deter us from attempting it.—We
 “ were assured at the time of the Union that the
 “ Catholic religion would be protected and
 “ honoured; whereas we have ever since expe-
 “ rienced that it has been undermined and de-
 “ graded.—We are told that the Veto is to be
 “ confined to civil purposes; but how can we
 “ oblige the party which carries the sword in
 “ their hands to observe this condition?—We
 “ remember the fable of the axe-head, which
 “ petitioned the forest for a mere sapling to make
 “ a handle of, and having obtained that laid all
 “ the lofty trees prostrate.” Such was your rea-
 soning before you were acquainted with the ulti-

mate object of the Veto, namely the security of the Established Church ; had that been proposed to your Synod, you would not have deigned to debate the question.

IV. Having thus misrepresented your conduct, the writer proceeds to gloss over his own. He says that the fifth Resolution was adopted in order “ to allay the ferment occasioned by the unfortunate event,” of your refusing to alter your Church discipline. But that refusal had taken place and been publicly known sixteen months before the fifth Resolution was thought of ; and the ferment on this side of the water, such as it was, had entirely subsided. In fact, the Resolution was not adopted to allay an existing ferment in England, but to prevent one that was justly dreaded among the Catholics of Ireland, as soon as Lord Grenville’s Letter, which had just been published in London, should reach the latter country. It was vainly imagined that the little row-boat which swam in the wake of the stately vessel was capable of stopping her course and drawing her back, stern foremost. A few days sufficed to dissipate this illusion, and to verify all my predictions. Your Committee declined the aid of Lord Grenville’s patronage on the terms proposed in his Letter, and they broke off all connexion with those English Catholics who had, in their fifth Resolution, subscribed to the sub-

stance of that letter. On the other hand, you Prelates resumed your Synod and censured that Resolution as dangerous to ecclesiastical discipline. It is really believed by a great number of distinguished personages, both Protestants and Catholics, that your rejection of the fifth Resolution was owing to my having previously rejected it. How grossly ignorant are my countrymen of all matters relating to Ireland ! Your venerable body had withdrawn me from the defence of the most limited kind of Veto ; but, I should form a much lower opinion of it than I do, were I capable of guiding its decisions upon any matter connected with faith or discipline whatever. Take the matter either way, that is to say, which ever ferment the fifth Resolution was opposed to, by the account of the writer himself, it was intended to counteract your decision of September, 1808 ; re-echoed as it was from sea to sea across your island, and to make an opening for a negociation on Lord Grenville's plan, at a future time, when it was justly supposed he would be able to treat with much greater weight than he then could. The gentleman says next : “ Previously to the appearance
“ of Lord Grenville's Letter, January 25, 1810,
“ no communication of any kind had taken place
“ between the English Catholics and their Parliamentary friends on the subject of the Veto.
“ After it was known that the Irish Bishops had

“ recalled the offer of it (what a calumnious in-
 “ situation!) no English Catholic took the least
 “ step or was engaged, directly or indirectly, in
 “ any measure to make it a condition of our re-
 “ lief.” The falsehood of the first assertion has
 been sufficiently proved; I could demonstrate it
 still more clearly; but I shall content myself, for
 the present, with mentioning, what this writer
 cannot be ignorant of, that during the heat of the
 Catholic Debate in 1808, two Catholics of dis-
 tinction, one of them of a noble family, waited
 upon one of our greatest and most powerful
 friends to ask *whether an offer of the Veto on the*
part of the English Catholic laity would be accep-
table. As it was then expected that your bre-
 thren would comply, the deputies were answered
 that *the business belonged to the Bishops.* As to
 the second assertion, I could wish to ask the wri-
 ter whether he means to exclude his brother bar-
 rister, John Joseph Dillon, (who claims so high
 a rank) from every rank among English Catho-
 lics? Certain it is that the latter, in his printed
 letters to Edward Jerningham, Esq. after censu-
 ring the conduct of the Irish Prelates as “ bigot-
 “ ed, weak and infatuated,” proposes that the
 English Catholics should “ declare their senti-
 “ ments on the subject of the Veto, without any
 “ dictation to the Catholics of Ireland,” expres-
 sing at the same time his opinion that the former

“ from their rank, education, attainments, &c.
 “ are entitled to claim respect from the latter.”
 I should like to ask the writer two or three more questions: whether a certain leading Catholic, an intimate friend of his, did not, to his certain knowledge, about the time of the Tavern Meeting, draw up the plan of a Veto, on the model of the one printed in Sir John Hippisley’s late speech, for the purpose of assimilating the state of the Vicars Apostolical to that proposed for the Irish Prelates? Also, whether this was not communicated to an eminent statesman, who was then expected to fill a high department of government? Lastly, whether the latter did not agree that it would be proper the said Vicars on acquiescing to the Veto plan, should receive £500 per annum each?

The letter-writer next endeavours to persuade you that, when he did “ come into action,” as he expresses it, he neither contravened your Episcopal decision passed sixteen months before, nor violated his promises, expressed in numerous letters not to adopt any measure, regarding the general concern, but as auxiliary to the more effectual and previous measures of the Irish Catholics. In the first place, how does this agree with his own account of the fifth Resolution, which he says was intended to allay the ferment occasioned by your past conduct, but which, in

fact, was intended to overawe and to direct you in your subsequent conduct. In the second place, what was that proposition which appeared to him and his friends “so reasonable and free from objection,” and yet at the same so consistent with his respect for your decision and his solemn promises to your lay Committee? It was the following: “The Catholics are ready to enter into any arrangement, consistent with their faith and discipline, which may be required of them for securing the loyalty of persons to be raised to the rank or office of Bishops.” The writer admits that he *approved* of this proposition on the 29th of January, but he forgets to tell you that he actually *adopted it*, and that it would have been brought forward, as the fifth Resolution of the Meeting at the St. Alban’s Tavern, if a friend of his who was deeply pledged to you and your countrymen, that the business of the Veto should not be so much as touched upon, had not with great difficulty obtained on the day preceding the meeting, that the *actual mention and offer of the Veto* should be suppressed in the Resolution. Such however is the gentleman’s confidence in his own talents, or his contempt of those possessed by the Irish Catholics, that he undertakes to convince them that a State arrangement regarding the appointment of Catholic Bishops is a distinct thing from

the Veto ; that to enter into a pledge for effecting this is consistent with your decision as to the inexpediency of any alteration at all in this matter, and that to settle so important a business without any communication with a single Catholic of Ireland, is acting “ a secondary part to the more “ powerful exertions of a nation of Catholics.”

The fifth Resolution then, the subject of the learned gentleman's present pamphlet, was settled on the 31st of January in its present form ; and whereas due care was taken, in drawing up the preceding form, to avoid the word *VETO*, so the chief precaution adopted in framing the second consisted in omitting the *express mention* of an interference in the *appointment of Catholic Bishops*, among the arrangements claimed on the part of the state for the security of the Established Church. In the mean time there was neither a man nor a woman of the least information who entertained a doubt that the Resolution in question was intended to express a readiness on the part of the subscribers, to grant to the Crown that claim which you Bishops had refused to grant, and which was held in so much abhorrence by your people.

In speaking of his conferences with the two Noble Lords, in which the different forms of the fifth Resolution were framed, the writer

is animated to enthusiasm and “ invokes the
 “ parties present to testify, that he and they
 “ were most anxious to frame the Resolution in
 “ such terms as should not be thought objec-
 “ tionable by you (the Irish laity) or your vener-
 “ able Prelates.” This is Mr. the theological
 layman all over ! Thus he acted twenty years
 ago, when he formed a new creed to be sworn
 to by the English Catholics, and then wrote a
 Red Book to instruct their Bishops concerning it,
 and to prove to them that he had most anxiously
 provided for the orthodoxy of the said oath !
 Thus also he has acted on various other occasions,
 in wresting the crosier out of the hands of the
 Bishops into his own : And thus he will act in
 settling the new arrangements for the church
 discipline, of Irish as well as English Catholics,
 whenever our political friends get into the Minis-
 try, if we do not unite in opposing him.—So it
 seems, Mr. Butler, you were “ most anxious to
 “ frame the Resolution respecting their Church
 “ discipline, in such terms as should not be
 “ thought objectionable by the venerable Pre-
 “ lates of Ireland !” Why then, Sir, did not
 you consult them upon the matter ? Why did
 not you inform those Protestant friends that,
 agreeably to that “ strict adherence to the
 “ tenets and discipline of the Roman Catholic
 “ religion” of which you make profession in this
 very resolution, it was essentially necessary that

the Bishops should be consulted, inasmuch as Christ has appointed them to be judges of the tenets and discipline of his Church, and also to *hold the form of sound words* respecting these tenets and discipline? Behold what has once more been the consequence of your profane temerity! Your favourite Resolution has been censured by a national synod and the censure has been re-echoed back to Ireland from the most distant Churches! You have greatly encreased, instead of relieving the embarrassment of our political friends; and you have made a temporary breach between the Catholics of Ireland and England! Oh! when will you fulfil that promise still upon record; “ My theological career “ is at an end. Henceforward I shall retire to “ say our Lady’s Office, and read Pere St. Jure “ in peace.”

Having given his account of the formation of the fifth Resolution, the Gentleman says that “ it “ was unanimously adopted at the Meeting, with “ the exception of the Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District; whereas he has seen it avowed in print that the two other Prelates, there present, voted against it, though they were afterwards induced by a false report concerning that Vicar, to sign a Petition containing the Resolution. He next lays claim to the merit of “ edifying behaviour” in not opposing your decision, at the

very time that he is opposing it, especially as he pretends to have “ ample room and verge” for this purpose in the documents which he mentions. These are 1st.* my Letter to a Parish Priest, which was published sorely against my will, and which I have since revoked and condemned : 2dly. Dr. O'Reilly's Letter to Lord Southwell, which he quite misrepresents : for that excellent prelate declared in your hearing and in mine, that his objections against the restricted Veto would by no means be removed by a change of Ministry : 3dly. The mutilated quotation of your 16th Resolution, which he and his agents have re-published scores of times, in order to make the public believe, that you are prepared to enter into any arrangements which may be proposed to you, provided they are not inconsistent with our faith and *essential discipline*, such, for example, as would give you orthodox and canonical pastors, but tepid and worldly minded ones : whereas you stipulate in your sixteenth Resolution for the “ safety of the Roman Catholic religion.” not only in its “ faith, communion and discipline,”

* Meeting me some two years ago the gentleman asked me, in a magisterial manner, *what right I had to publish a certain pastoral Letter*, on a mere theological subject, (my controversy with Blomchard.) Another lay gentleman, an intimate friend of his, took upon himself by his own lay authority, to interdict the circulation of a second Pastoral of mine on the same subject.

but also in “its subordination (which implies “that you and not lay conveyancers, are to be “judges in these matters) and its *moral code*,” which code requires you to take the utmost care in your power to have successors worthy of you in every respect.

The writer proceeds to make a boast still more extraordinary than the former. He vaunts that he and his friends have been exemplary “in “giving to God the things which belong to “God,” particularly in what relates to the supremacy of the Holy See. Yes, this author of the condemned oath, which renounces the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of that see, the publisher of the Blue Books, which are full of abuse and protests against the Popes and their vicars, the fautor of Dr. Geddes,* and the public defender

* The gentleman is understood to have denied that he has edited a continuation of Geddes’s translation of the scripture, which was formally censured by the assembled Vicars Apostolic in 1792. Thus much is certain, that I have lying before me: “A New Translation of the Book of Psalms, by “the late Dr. Geddes, printed for J. Johnson, St. Paul’s “Church Yard, 1807,” with a previous advertisement of eight pages, celebrating that unhappy priest, who lived and died like an infidel, signed “John Disney, Charles Butler, “London, Jan. 17, 1807,” they being the persons who undertook to revise the papers of the deceased. Subjoined to the work is a list of works published by the Doctor against

of the fifth resolution, in opposition to a national synod of Catholic Prelates, has the confidence to boast of the exemplarity of his past submission to church authority ; and to refer to his past conduct in this respect, as a pledge of his submitting the arrangements in question, whenever they come forward, to the due authority of the Church ! Yes, he and I are thus far agreed, that he will act on this as he has done heretofore on similar occasions. He and two or three of his lay friends will settle the arrangements with Protestant statesmen, and then he will write a new Red Book, like the one before me, in order to prove that he was “ most
 “ anxious to frame the arrangements in such
 “ manner as should not be thought objection-
 “ able by the venerable prelates.”

V. After this history of the fifth resolution, the learned conveyancer undertakes to prove, that what your national synod, speaking, “ in the
 “ name of Christ, and having God alone before
 “ their eyes,” has pronounced to be, “ a vague,
 “ indefinite resolution, pledging Roman Catho-
 “ lics to an eventual acquiescence in arrangements
 “ possibly prejudicial to the integrity and safety

each of the following bishops, Walmesly Gibson, Douglas, &c. the circumstances of which publications the gentleman is too well acquainted with.

“ of our Church discipline,” is precise, defined, and exposes Church discipline to no danger at all. In undertaking this, the conveyancer certainly illustrates “ the edifying exemplarity” of his respect for Church authority and that submission to your decision of which he has been boasting. Let us once more look at the resolution itself. “ The Catholics of England are “ firmly persuaded that adequate provision for “ the maintenance of the civil and *religious es-* “ *tablishments of this kingdom* may be made “ consistently with the strictest adherence on “ their part, to the tenets and discipline of the “ Roman Catholic religion ; and that *any* ar- “ rangements founded on *this* basis of mutual “ satisfaction and security, and extending to “ them the full enjoyment of the civil constitu- “ tion of their country *will meet* with their “ grateful concurrence.” Let us now hear Mr. C, Butler’s demonstration of the perfect innocence of this position. He is so partial to it, that he prints the whole of it in capital letters. He says : “ Surely no person ecclesiastic or secular will “ assert distinctly or unequivocally, that Roman “ Catholic emancipation and the strictest adhe- “ rence of Roman Catholics to the tenets and “ discipline of the Roman Catholic Church are “ in any manner inconsistent with the *state’s* “ *having* adequate provision for the mainte- “ nance of its civil and religious establishment.”

So then, it seems, Mr. B. that all your laborious study and conferences with eminent statesmen in framing two different forms of the fifth resolution, had no other object in view than to express that there is no contradiction in our taking care of our religion, and in Protestants taking care of theirs ; so then it was perfectly well understood, that the statesmen expected *no concession on our part*, nor any *concurrence* as to a *change* in our discipline, for the purpose of giving *additional strength to the established Church*. I wish I were now in London to ascertain the sort of publication which is given to the letter before me : I observe that Mr. Booker, a Catholic, is the only publisher named in its title page ; whereas in Mr. Butler's " Historical Account of " the Penal laws," which issued from the same press, nearly at the same time, besides the Catholic publishers, Messrs. Faulder and Budd and Ridgeway are advertised. The truth is, the former work is intended chiefly for the use of Protestants, the latter *exclusively* for that of Catholics. It was thus in our former contest, twenty years ago, the Blue Books, and other congenial works intended to persuade Catholics of the orthodoxy of the oath were given to good Mr. Coghlan to print and circulate : while *The State of Facts*, and the spurious editions of the Protestation, &c. were printed at a Protestant press in the city, and thence *privately* handed

to persons of considerable consequence in the legislature. Thus much I will venture to say, that Mr. B. never calculated this his grand demonstration of the purity of the fifth resolution to meet the eye of intelligent Protestants.

Aware, however, of the awkward pledge contained in the concluding clause of the resolution, which expresses that the Catholics are ready *to concur in maintaining* a religion which they believe to be false, and being afraid to look this pledge fairly in the face, as it would at once upset his capital demonstration, he endeavours to get rid of it by a side wind, and for this purpose offers money to any person who will “ specify an instance in which the engagements contracted by this resolution, exceed those contracted by your oath of 1793,” which pledge you “ not to exercise any privilege to which you are or may become entitled to disturb and weaken the Protestant religion and government.” I will not accept of the gentleman’s money, nor of any body’s money, whilst my religion is exposed to danger as it is at present,* being mindful of the prophet’s maxim :

* A friend and agent of the gentleman has lately circulated letters for the purpose of collecting money throughout every Catholic congregation in England; the first object of which is to subsidize the Vicars Apostolic, at the discretion of a club, of which the gentleman is manager. This scheme is expressly calculated to give him the influence of a Chancellor of the

a gift doth blind the eyes of the wise, and pervert the words of the righteous : but without a fee I will inform the gentleman, that it is one thing to omit doing a good action and another to do a bad one. The obvious and received meaning of your oath of 1793 is that you will not make use of the elective franchise which you then acquired, to take away tithes or overturn the Established Church : while the obvious and received sense of the fifth resolution is, that he will enter into arrangements for preventing the appointment of able and zealous bishops, in order to prevent conversions from the Protestant to the Catholic religion.

VI. Advancing in his theological career, and still grappling with your seventeenth Resolution, our conveyancer denies “ the possibility that his
“ fifth Resolution can, at any future time, pledge
“ him to arrangements inconsistent with our re-
“ ligion.” In proof of this he says : “ Inge-
“ nuity cannot specify a provision for the main-
“ tenance of the civil and religious establish-
“ ment of this kingdom, inconsistent with the

Exchequer in all the concerns of English Roman Catholics. Sir Thomas More, when Lord Chancellor, received the present of a golden cup from a lady who had a suit in his court. He ordered the cup to be filled with wine and sent back to her, with a message, that she was welcome to have it replenished as often as she pleased.

“ strictest adherence to the tenets and discipline
 “ of the Catholic religion which, with perfect
 “ consistency with the words and spirit of this
 “ Resolution, a Catholic may not refuse.”—To
 this I have already given an answer, and I further
 answer, that ingenuity cannot specify an act,
 however indifferent in itself, which consistently
 with the tenets, discipline, and moral code of his
 religion, a Catholic can perform, or concur in
 performing for the purpose here specified, that of
maintaining the Protestant religion. Much less
 can a Catholic agree to *alter* the discipline of his
 own Church and to *weaken* its constitution, by
 opening a door for the admission of negligent,
 temporizing Pastors, for such *an avowed* unlawful
purpose.—In vain does he remind us of the salvo
 in the Resolution in favour of our *tenets and dis-*
cipline: for he ought to have learnt from your six-
 teenth Article, that we are bound to provide, in
 the best manner we can, not only for the *tenets*
and discipline, but also for the *moral code* of our
 Holy Religion, a primary point of which requires,
 that she should be furnished not only with *ortho-*
dox, but also with *zealous* Pastors. In fact it is
 an easy matter to arrange the plan of a Veto,
 which shall exclude all heterodox Prelates, and
 not directly violate any positive law of the
 Church, but which it would be perfectly unlaw-
 ful for us to agree to. In vain also does he harp
 upon “ *This basis* of mutual satisfaction and se-

“curity.” Because THIS BASIS, as I have proved, is too *narrow* to be a *secure* one; and because, from the *nature of the thing* and the *declarations* of our Protestant friends, we are perfectly convinced that they will judge of and decide upon what is and what is not *conformable to our faith and discipline*; of what is a SUFFICIENT SECURITY to the Catholic as well as to the Protestant Church. Such a basis of security for our Holy Religion may be *satisfactory* to Mr. Butler, but I own it is not so to me, and I am sure it will not be so to you Prelates, or your Catholic flocks.* At the same time that I reprobate the Resolution itself, I am far, very far from censuring the great majority of the individuals in this country who have signed it. According to Mr. Butler’s own account it was settled without being communicated to the Bishops, and this within a single day of its being brought forward to be signed. In short, like its prototype, the studiously ambiguous Protestation, it owes its chief success to specious glosses and false assertions.

* On this subject I must refer to what I shewed in my late *Instructions*, that our best and most powerful friends in Parliament profess only “to attend to our *reasonable* objections,” namely, to such as they themselves shall deem reasonable, and they give us notice that they will *pass the law* and we must *take the consequence*; to which violent course they are strongly urged by J. J. Dillon and others of our own body.

VII. The seventh article of this letter, inscribed to "An Irish Catholic Gentleman," but intended for the practical use of the whole Catholic body of Ireland, contains a variety of confused matter. Its principal subject, however, relates to the terms required of us, as the price of our Civil Emancipation, by Lord Grenville, Lord Grey, and the greater number of the other members of Parliament. These I have proved in my late work by express quotations from their writings and printed speeches, contain a complete subjugation of our Church, for the avowed purpose of giving an additional security to a Church which protests against ours; and we may be quite sure that if the Noble personages in question had hitherto changed their minds on this matter (as I still hope and pray they may do) Mr. Butler would have procured some declaration or some testimony of their having declared themselves to this effect. Unable to obtain a line of this nature, he is reduced to gloss their words directly contrary to their avowed meaning. Thus he maintains that, the "complicated arrangements" which Lord Grenville describes as necessary conditions of the Emancipation relate only to civil, and by no means to any religious concerns: and yet he at the same time quotes his Lordship's words, which expressly include "an effectual negative on the appointment of our Bishops" among the arrangements! As I have given ex-

tracts above from the Noble Baron's Speech in 1808, and of that which he made on presenting the Waterford Petition in 1810, as also of his Letter to Lord Fingal, none of which require the least gloss to explain their meaning, I will avoid repeating them here. Instead of this I will cite a few words from his ordinary antagonist, the Lord Chancellor's observations on the letter. It must be allowed that the last mentioned was competent to judge of the nature of Lord Grenville's requisition, especially as no one of Lord Grenville's friends complained that his sense had been misrepresented. His words are these: " We have
 " the authority of the Noble Baron himself, in
 " his *written opinion*, that he conceives it impos-
 " sible to comply with the claims of the Catho-
 " lies, *unless they are prepared to concede that*
 " *which they have positively denied, and a great*
 " *deal more.**" Will Mr. B. now pretend that your brethren, or any other Catholics, have objected to *civil arrangements*? at the same time that it is absolutely false, as this gentleman continues to assert, that you have rejected a *specific Veto*. In fact he knows, as well as you or I do, that the vote which you passed in 1808, and confirmed in 1810, censured *no specific measure* whatever, but declared in general that it was inexpedient to make any change at all in your ac-

tual discipline concerning the appointment of Bishops. As to the speech of Earl Grey, on presenting the fifth Resolution, in which his Lordship dwells so emphatically on the necessity of our giving fresh security to the Established Church, and asserts so positively that the subscribers to that Resolution have *authorized him to express their willingness to accept of provisions* for this purpose, the writer has no other resource than to repeat his dishonourable falsification of it in all its essential parts, and still more shamefully to brazen it out after all my reproaches to him on this head* that it is printed “AS REPORTED IN THE GLOBE PAPER!”†—

When an obscure emigrant obliges me to verify my quotations by producing the work I quote, and after acknowledging their fidelity persists in charging me with false quotations, I am mortified without being surprised; but that a *gentleman* should persist in asserting that two publications are alike, which have been proved to differ in their most essential parts, would be incredible, were not the instance of it before our eyes! As it is of the utmost importance towards settling the whole controversy concerning the fifth Resolution, to ascertain the sense in which it is understood by the legislature to which it has been pre-

* See *The Instructions*, &c. p. 34.

† See Mr. Butler's *Historical Account of the Penal Laws*, just published, p. 38.

sented, I will here extract a few passages from the late speeches of some of its members in addition to those of Earl Grey, which I gave before.* The Hon. Mr. Lamb, alluding to this Resolution, describes the English Catholics as having “acceded to the Veto.”† Sir William Scot had before spoken to the same effect. Mr. Ponsonby, in answering Mr. Secretary Ryder, thus expresses himself: “The Rt. Hon. Gentleman says, that “it would be a departure from Catholic faith to “sanction *the appointment of a Catholic Bishop* “in the way proposed by the effect of the *Veto*: “he must know that *several of the Catholics* “have signified something like an *approbation* “to the arrangement proposed.”‡ Lord Boringdon says, in the House of Peers: “Can we now “be justified in entertaining a hope that *the Veto* “or any other specific security which might be “thought necessary, would be offered in a Committee? On the contrary are we not all convinced, do not we all feel that no such concession would be made, that no such security would be offered? Did the question remain “wholly with the *Catholics of England*, *different expectations* might possibly be entertained.” § Finally, Mr. Secretary Dundas says: “If the “Rt. Hon. Gentleman thinks that every Catholic

* Instruct. p. 32. † Revised Report, p. 115.

‡ Page 145. § Page 73.

“ is as sanguine as the petitioners (the Irish Catholics) I can safely say *there are many Catholics who would object to unlimited concession*. I believe there are *many* who think that some such measure as that contended for by Lord Grenville would be highly *necessary and beneficial*. I know that the English Catholics do not agree in perfect unanimity with the Irish.”*

Methinks I witness the astonishment which you and your Irish friends will be thrown into at hearing this evidence that there are many Catholics on this side of the water who themselves object to *unlimited concessions*, and who, in seeking for civil liberty for themselves, are actually intriguing to impose fresh chains on their clergy and religion, and that they are, at this present moment, in the confidence both of the late and present ministry ! Nothing, however, of this sort is either new or strange to me.

Upon no one subject does the gentleman feel so sore as upon this of the declarations made in Parliament, many of which I republished in my last work ; he accordingly quits it as soon as he can, and returns to his favourite topic, the *history* of the fifth resolution. On this he rises into sen-

* In further proof of the sense in which our legislators understand the fifth resolution, I may add that I have been severely condemned by one of the most considerable among them for denying, in my instructions, that my friends who signed it are pledged to the Veto.

timent, and pathetically relates how “ our two
 “ illustrious friends, the Lords Grenville and
 “ Grey, holding in their hands the resolutions
 “ of your prelates in 1799, and the written sug-
 “ gestion of their agent to Mr. Ponsonby, had
 “ formally and solemnly assured Parliament of
 “ your consent to the King’s having a negative,
 “ &c. but that after a few months your prelates
 “ recalled their resolutions.” Now mark the nu-
 merous falsehoods contained in this relation: 1st.
 Lord Grey was not even present at the debates of
 1808, when the subject of the Veto was started,
 but remained in Northumberland. 2dly. Lord
 Grenville did not at that time hold in his hand
 the resolutions of the ten prelates, passed nine
 years before, as I myself was employed to pro-
 cure a copy of them from Ireland, by a near re-
 lative of his Lordship, *after* the debate was over.
 3dly. Lord Grenville did not hold in his hand
 my suggestion, as Mr. B. chooses to call it: he
 was not then acquainted with the existence of the
 paper in question; but what his Lordship did
 hold in his hands, or at least what was delivered
 into his hands on the 27th of May, previously
 to his opening the debate in the House of
 Peers, was a printed protest against what had
 been said on my authority in the other House.
 4th. Lord Grenville did not give a solemn and
 positive assurance, or any assurance at all,
 as Mr. Butler says he did. Lastly, the only
 assurance of this nature which was given to

Parliament by either of these our illustrious friends, was given by Lord Grey, on the 22d of February, 1810, and this on the authority of the fifth resolution, which he then actually held in his hands, and presented to the House. After all these false statements the writer proceeds to complain of the Bishops having *recalled* their resolutions, as with equal falsehood, he states the matter, and then panegyricizes, in high terms, the magnanimity of our political friends in consenting to open a new negociation. In these circumstances he asks: "Was it for us to refuse the
 " opening? to be starch and to stare, and to re-
 " sile from it. All the hellebore of Anticyra
 " would not have cured such madness." Why really I cannot say any thing about Mr. Butler's *being starch*, and his *staring* and *resiling*; but this I am sure of, that he ought not, in the existing circumstances, to have treated with Noble Lords, upon any business respecting our common concern, and much less about "an arrangement respecting the choice of Catholic
 " Bishops," or about "concurring in making
 " provision for the maintenance of the establish-
 " ed religion. What he ought to have said in answer to any proposals of this nature is as follows: My Lords, I and my friends are deeply pledged to the Catholics of Ireland not so much as to touch upon the business of the Veto at our approaching meeting, and indeed not to take any

measure at all, except “ as auxiliary to their
 “ more powerful exertions, because here in Eng-
 “ land, we are not the people.” I am still more
 firmly bound, in quality of a lay Catholic, not
 to enter into any resolution, or pronounce upon
 any question of religion, except in subordination
 to the pastors of the Catholic Church. Give us
 time, my Lords, to communicate your proposals,
 whatever they may be, to the lay Catholics of
 Ireland. If they are of a religious nature, we
 know that they will submit them to their Bishops.
 In the course of a month we hope to be able to
 communicate to your Lordships answers from the
 Catholic Bishops and Laity, both of Ireland and
 of England. Whatever these may be in other
 respects, they will certainly express that respect
 and gratitude which all descriptions of Catholics
 entertain for your Lordships. Instead, however,
 of following this prudent course, the gentleman
 says of himself: “ Well, then, we did enter into
 “ a negociation, and we laid the foundation.”—
 Of what? Why, of that cruel disappointment
 which our noble friends experienced, of the differ-
 ences which took place between the Catholics of
 Ireland and England, of those censures which have
 fallen upon your own head, and of the general dis-
 esteem and odium which you have incurred among
 the Catholics in general. What sort of weight you
 may continue to carry with the board or club to
 which you belong is more than I can tell; but I

will forfeit all pretensions to common sense, if the Catholics of Ireland, or any part of them, will ever confide their religious concern to Charles Butler, Esq.

“ Here then,” says he, “ the matter rests ;” and here I am content to let it rest. Hence, instead of following him through his wild suppositions concerning the *ultimate arrangements of the legislature*,* I shall satisfy myself with protesting, that if our Holy Religion is finally enthralled and subjected to a fresh persecution, the event will be chiefly owing to the theological politics of this conveyancer, and that if its discipline and freedom are preserved, the Catholics of both islands will be indebted for the blessing, under God, to the vigilance and firmness of the Catholic prelates of Ireland. Yes, you have snatched the helm from the profane intruder, and you have held it *hard a lee*, by which conduct there are hopes that in saving your own Church from the shoal which we were nearing, you have

* From this passage, and the whole tenor of Mr. Butler’s pamphlet, and other clear evidence, those good men shall see their dangerous error, who are ever telling me : “ We are all at peace, there is an end of the Veto. Why then continue to sound the alarm ? ” Would to God things were so : but with such armies as I have described in my last work fronting us, and with treachery amidst our own forces, woe to the Holy City if its sentinels sleep on their charge or are inactive.

saved ours also. Should the storm become more violent, and be directed chiefly at the unprotected pilot, we have learnt from the Holy Fathers, that a true Catholic bishop, defending the cause of God, and protected by his grace, “ may “ be killed, but cannot be conquered.” The lawyer here again charges me with “ the ravings “ of enthusiasm.”* But whether he acts irrationally or I, will be ultimately and publicly settled at a tribunal where we shall both soon appear.

VIII. Having paid some hollow compliments to the Irish, and proclaimed “ the canonization “ and sanctification” of the Lords Grey and Grenville, for which none of the parties will thank him, the gentleman recapitulates his positions, and concludes with a proposal to the Irish Catholics that ; “ if *government* should propose to us any *form of security* for the civil and *ecclesiastical government* of this country *more satisfactory to them*, than that which they now “ possess, it should be *coolly, dispassionately* “ and *reasonably* examined, and that, if it is “ found consistent with our faith and discipline, “ *we should acquiesce* in the proposal.” Here then is the scope and ultimate object of the whole

* Third Blue Book, p. 18, alluding to my sermon at the consecration of Bishop Gibson, at Lulworth Castle. Keating and Brown.

pamphlet. He wishes the laity of Ireland to *acquiesce* in the proposals of the statesmen, whom he calls government, for securing *the Protestant ecclesiastical government*; in a manner more satisfactory to them than at present; but why not propose the unrestricted Veto in plain terms? The statesmen have told us again and again, that this is the satisfactory security which they want, but if they did not tell us, so common sense tells us, that, having the King, the law, the army, the wealth, the numbers on their side, it is impossible we can add to the security of their ecclesiastical government, except by subjugating our pastors and Church to it. Mr. Butler would have the proposal examined, *coolly, dispassionately and reasonably*, thereby insinuating that your two synods, the one of three, the other of five days continuance, which decided against innovations in general, pronounced *rashly, passionately and unreasonably*. Hence he is silent about referring future proposals to you. No; he will ease you of the trouble of examining and deciding concerning them; just as he acted with respect to the English Vicars Apostolic in the affair of his new invented oath and appellation; and should you be dissatisfied with his decision and arrangements, he will write another Red Book to explain the whole matter to you.

But peace to our theological lawyer, who is just as well qualified to judge of the tenets, dis-

cipline, moral code and adequate security of the Catholic Church, as I am to judge of the legal security of any marriage settlement which he may be now drawing up. You Bishops *whom the Holy Ghost hath appointed to rule the Church of God*, Acts xxi. 28. have twice met and decided with canonical solemnity and religious piety on the whole question at issue, and your decision has been received with shouts of triumph by your own millions, and with veneration and applause by your fellow Bishops on the Continents of the old and the new world. In deciding as you have done, you have entrenched your church discipline and jurisdiction, and your own awful responsibility at the present critical period in the only safe and impregnable lines. You have secured them from assailants of different characters; and, with very little trouble, you will baffle the pretences under which the more ostensible party claims a right to interfere in the internal œconomy of your primitive Church. I myself, on your and my own part, have three or four times over publicly refuted all these pretensions, and, though other passages of my publications, have been noticed in Parliament and from the Press, no person has attempted to answer this my refutation, except by flights of oratory which do not even meet the understanding. I have reasoned with our political friends to this effect:

—You tell us that you want a test of our loyalty; to which we reply that we have given you every test to this effect, which you yourselves have proposed to us, and you have at different times changed this test almost as often as Laban did the wages of Jacob. But we have given you more substantial proofs of loyalty than any oaths can be; such as we challenge you to parallel with the conduct of any description of other clergy, either in the grand rebellion, or in the riots of 1780. As, in the existing circumstances, we have declined your salaries for the safety of our religion, so, in the insurrection of 1798, we braved the fury of our deluded people in vindication of our loyalty. You say that you are satisfied with our present loyalty, but that you are afraid that we, and still more that our successors may decline from it. And pray who is it that *may not* decline from his duty. But what likelihood is there of the Catholic Clergy, who have every where been found the firmest supporters of the altar and the throne, in this age of revolution and anarchy, should be the first to turn rebels? and being actually loyal, as you confess we are, who are so well qualified to choose successors of our civil as well as religious principles as ourselves? But the Pope may seduce us and give us foreigners for our successors. Give us foreign successors he cannot, while your Alien Act remains in force, and, as to seducing us from our allegiance, he

cannot do that, since our purses, our persons, our sermons and our public prayers have been and are irrevocably devoted to the service of our King and Country : I will add that if the mere possibility of such a misuse of the influence of religion, be a sufficient reason for your controuling the appointment of its ministers, why do not you controul the appointment of the Methodist Preachers ? It is an indisputable fact that almost the whole principality of Wales, and perhaps a fourth part of the population of England are, several times in the week, harangued into Antinomianism, or a persuasion that, being freed by Christ, they *are subject to no law whatever, human or divine.* And it is a fact worthy your attention, that this sect is gaining so fast upon the Established Church in Ireland, as to threaten it with the loss of all its adherents except those who are paid for continuing so. Now is it not much more likely that the Methodists should realize their principles, and defend their conduct by their private interpretation of the Scriptures, (as was actually done by their predecessors in 1648, and in 1780) than that the Venerable Patriarch of the West, as James I. called the Pope, and the lineal successors of the Apostles, the Catholic Bishops, should pawn their character and consciences in the cause of invasion or rebellion ? Begin then with appointing the Methodist Preachers, if you feel yourselves strong enough to attempt this. I

say the same as to their progenitors, the Moravian Bishops, who are appointed by certain obscure Elders at Hernuth in Moravia.—Oh ! but the Pope is the prisoner of the public enemy. —The Pope has lost his personal freedom, besides his principality, because he *would not be unjust to you*, and because he was resolved to exercise his *spiritual jurisdiction independently of any civil power whatever* : and we have lately pledged ourselves to God and the whole Catholic Church, “ not to acknowledge any act of the Pope or “ any successor to him, without evidence of such “ act and such choice being perfectly free.”* Still you say, we cannot consent to our Catholic subjects receiving jurisdiction of any kind from a subject of our capital enemy.—Why then you must either get a British subject made Pope, or resolve to have no Catholic subjects at all. The circumstance you object to has occurred, without any practical inconvenience, in different countries ever since the foundation of the Church by Jesus Christ, and your objection arises from nothing else, but the almost impossibility of a Protestant’s understanding the nature of *spiritual power*.—I have more than once pointed out the easiest way of your comprehending it. Had it then been your lot to be the subject of our good

* Latin Encyclical Letter from the Prelates of Ireland to those of the Catholic Church throughout the world.

British King Cymbaline, at the time when our Saviour was the subject of Tiberius, or when St. Peter, the first Pope of Rome, was the subject of Nero, (both Emperors being monsters, and both intent on the subjugation of this country,) would you have refused to receive an Apostle from the former, or a canonical epistle from the latter, on the pretext you have alleged? But the Kingdom of Christ you will say is not of this world. I grant it is not : neither is that pure spiritual jurisdiction, in which this kingdom still subsists, and which I am now contending for of this world. In a word, it is indisputable that we give the most perfect security to the Civil Establishment of our country, but it is impossible that we should take the least part in giving any positive security to the Ecclesiastical Establishment of it.

I am, &c.

J. M.

Wolverhampton, }
April 8, 1811. }

POSTSCRIPT

TO TWO LETTERS, &c.

*Containing a Review of Dr. O'Connor's Three
Numbers of Columbanus ad Hibernos.*



My Dear Friend,

AFTER settling our religious accounts with the writer of *A Letter to an Irish Catholic Gentleman*, I had thoughts of calling his ally, the author of *Columbanus ad Hibernos*, to the same strict reckoning for his three late schismatical pamphlets under that title. In fact these writers are embarked in the same cause and have the same object in view, that of disposing the Catholics of Ireland “to concur in those arrangements for “securing the religious establishment of this “country,” by subjugating our pastors and our discipline, which certain Protestant Statesmen shew themselves bent upon effecting. The difference is that the lawyer conceals his object,

and endeavours to hamper you, Irish Catholics, with an ambiguous pledge, before he tells you what is implied by it, (as he did the English Catholics by that former double-faced pledge, *the Protestation*,) whilst the priest, stung with disappointment at your having rejected the Veto and himself also, as a candidate for a seat amongst you,* loses his temper at the same time with his religion, bursts out the secret, and openly threatens you with the full effect of these arrangements. Unparalleled as his boldness is in thus proclaiming open schism to Catholics, yet it is an incomparable advantage to you and your flocks, to become acquainted with the nature of these arrangements, whilst there is time to oppose them. “One principle of reasoning” to adopt this writer’s language,† “you may argue from, “as from any maxim of Euclid,” is that he is extremely well informed on the subject. I have said the same with respect to J. J. Dillon, Esq. and accordingly I have given him credit for his declaration that the arrangements of our discipline which he represents as *necessary*,‡ and

* C. employs near twenty pages of his last pamphlet to prove that he rejected the see of E. instead of his being rejected by the chapter of it. In the mean time I can name the English priest to whom he made promises connected with his expected promotion. By what uncanonical means that promotion was to have been effected is well known in Ireland.

† Columb. No. I. page 5.

‡ “Instructions addressed to the Catholics,” page 23.

which perfectly hitch in with those proclaimed by Columbanus, have, in fact, been “ collected “ in his communications with persons of elevated “ rank and great natural endowments.”*——

That English lawyers, who are sighing for a silk gown or a black patch upon their crowns, should be willing to barter the discipline and independence, of the Catholic Church for worldly advantages is easily conceived ; but that an Irishman, an O'Connor and a Catholic Priest, should be capable of doing this, would not be believed without evidence of the fact. It is to be remembered however, that, several years ago he sold his Irish MSS. abandoned his politics, his parish, and his country for a situation in an English Nobleman's family, and even suppressed the printed *Life of his Grandfather* ; which, however ill written, breathes the spirit of an Irishman and a Catholic.

The writer assumes the name of *Columbanus*, he informs us, because the Saint of that name, on a particular occasion, opposed the Pope. But, if he had not been absent for so long a time from his native country, he would have recollected that, however odious the name of *Pope* is to English Protestants, (who repay the benefits of their conversion and civilization by means of

* Two Memoirs, Appendix.

the Pope, with annually burning him in effigy) it is a name revered and beloved by Irish Catholics, in gratitude for the same benefits, being sensible that they also have derived them from him; as likewise that the Holy Religion which they value above all worldly goods, has been preserved to them during two centuries of an exterminating persecution by means of those foundations for the continuation of the sacred ministry, for which they are chiefly indebted to his pastoral care and pious liberality. But indeed, how can it be expected that the writer should recollect these general benefits when he forgets that he himself owed his education and daily bread at the Ludovisian College in Rome to this common father of the faithful. *Filios ennutrivi et exaltavi: ipsi autem spreverunt me*, ISAIAH i. 2. But the most extraordinary circumstance of all others, relating to this name is that the good Abbot, whose name the writer borrows on account of his opposition to the Pope, by the confession of all writers, Protestant as well as Catholic, *opposed him wrongfully*. Being ill informed on ecclesiastical subjects, he found fault with the Pope for supporting the 5th General Council, (which every Catholic is bound to support with his blood) supposing that this Council had sanctioned Nestorianism. With the exception of this mistake, St. Columbanus was one of the most humble and docile children of the Holy See, as this writer

himself has shewn in the Life of his Grandfather. Upon the principle on which he now proceeds, he would have acted much more consistently in adopting the name of the most celebrated *No Popery* man of the present time, and have entitled his work, *Duigenanus ad Hibernos*.

I have said, that it was my intention to call this bold innovator to a proper reckoning for his schismatical attempts on the Catholicity of our flocks ; but having heard that an able and learned writer on your side of the water, has undertaken this necessary but disagreeable task, I shall content myself with giving a brief analysis of the principal matters contained in the rude and undigested chaos of this triform production.

To begin then, this confidant of statesmen pronounces, with an emphasis which shews that he considers himself as having the *most solid grounds* for his assertion, that “ *the time is at length arrived*, when, if we will avail ourselves of it, *we may finally establish a national Church discipline, equally independent of what St. Paul calls Dominatio in cleros*, (episcopal authority) and political intrigues ; a system of *Church discipline founded on general will*, affording complete satisfaction to the *civil power*, embracing general feelings, cherishing general interests, and consequently to

“ be supported not by the *clergy only*, but by a
 “ reciprocity of general affection, by *laws*, which
 “ *restrain the petulance of human power*, and
 “ which *curb the licentiousness of individuals* in
 “ the exercise of that power.” No. I. p. 119.

Columbanus repeats the same assertions with additional emphasis in his second number, p. xviii, affirming that “ *the time is arrived and now is*,
 “ when, if we will avail ourselves of it, *we may*
 “ *establish a Church discipline, &c.*” and he even reproaches me with “ affecting not to see” this important notification which he had before made ! The passage is not more emphatical than it is express and clear with respect to the nature and object of those arrangements which Mr. Butler recommends to you in his fifth resolution, at the same time that he conceals them. Subsequent quotations, however, will throw still greater light upon the matter. “ A reformation,” exclaims this deserter of his own flock, “ in the
 “ internal discipline and economy of the Irish
 “ Church, is indispensably necessary, and conscientious Catholics have more just reason to
 “ be alarmed for the total extinction of the
 “ sanctity of the *Island of Saints*, than to fear
 “ those *salutary restraints of legal responsibility* which anti-fanatical statesmen endeavour
 “ *in pity to the Irish people*, to interpose as an
 “ ægis of defence between their liberties and the
 “ *usurpations* of—what is insidiously called the

“ *independent hierarchy* of the Irish Church.” No. I. p. 8. These same time serving and irreligious sentiments he repeats, in still more insolent terms, at p. xviii. He adds: “I entertain
 “ very *sanguine hopes* that the great object
 “ which I have in view will be finally accom-
 “ plished ; that by our being more *closely bound*
 “ *to the state*, the state will be more confiden-
 “ tially connected with us.” No. II. p. 11. Having misrepresented the conduct of the bishops in certain particulars, he exclaims, “ Ire-
 “ land stands in need of the *interference* and
 “ the protection of *the law*.” I. 14. “ Is the
 “ *responsibility of the law* never to be known in
 “ that Church?” I. 24. What renders these menaces of subjecting the jurisdiction and discipline of the Catholic Churches of these islands to civil tribunals and Protestant, perhaps Orange magistrates important and indeed alarming, is, that he is known and occasionally professes to speak from the authority of personages of great dignity and weight. You observe in the two passages in which he says, that conscientious Catholics have more to dread from their own bishops than from Protestant anti-fanatical statesmen, he expressly tells you that these statesmen *are endeavouring* to interpose an ægis between the bishops and their Catholic flocks. In a third passage, after complaining of “ the
 “ strange, foolish, anti-Catholic notions of spi-

“ ritual power prevailing in the minds of the
 “ Irish,” he adds in a note: “ Fortunately,
 “ there are English statesmen, who *will endeavour*
 “ *to hold the ægis of the law* between the
 “ abuse of spiritual power, and the liberties of
 “ the Irish people.” No. II. p. 125. Are the
 Irish then so dull as not to know, that they have
 the law already in favour of just as much religious
 liberty as they may choose to take, without the
 help of any English statesmen whomsoever? Are
 they ignorant that they have only to *shake off*
entirely what these statesmen consider ecclesiastical
 “ usurpations” to stand upon the same constitutional
 ground as the statesmen themselves do?

Descending to particulars this mischief-making
 man affects to conceal what he clearly discovers.
 Having mentioned a contest concerning the right
 way of filling up a certain vacant see, in which
 both parties appealed to the canons and the existing
 discipline, he adds, “ What the views of any
 statesman may be with regard to these subjects;
 what plans he may meditate, how far he may
 avail himself of the information, thus minutely
 acquired, for the purpose of *proposing a more*
rational system of ecclesiastical government than
 now obtains amongst us, it is impossible for me
 to ascertain.” He then goes on to calculate the
 amount of the vo-

luntary contributions, and of the stole-fees given by a pious and grateful Catholic people, to their faithful and disinterested Pastors (who are known to have declined a state pension, whilst their religion is in danger) after which he says :

“ These have provoked minute enquiries into the
 “ internal government of our Church; and
 “ many circumstances, relating to marriages,
 “ dispensations, excommunications and parish
 “ dues, begin to be weighed in the scales of po-
 “ liticians; which, if we had been more concili-
 “ atory in our manners, (*by accepting of the*
 “ *Veto*) might have passed away unnoticed.”

No. I. p. 4—6. On another occasion he thus stimulates a Protestant legislature to begin the work of reforming the Catholic religion, a work, which by the by, it has prosecuted, with unwearied labour for between two and three centuries : “ Ye rulers of the British Islands observe
 “ —that the Catholic system must be improved
 “ and that this unprecedented, unheard of Irish
 “ discipline must be recalled to canonical purity
 “ and equity, that it may be rendered more ana-
 “ logous to our constitution. The Irish cannot
 “ be *converted to Protestantism*, what remains,
 “ but that the religion, which they are willing to
 “ practice, shall be cultivated ?” No. 2. p. lxiii.

Alluding to the *Veto*, he complains that the Irish “ waste the energies of their minds in re-

“sisting a phantom :” No. I. 9. though in fact, it is now ascertained that this phantom was to have been the master-key, in the hands of ministry, to let themselves into the management of the whole discipline and jurisdiction of the Catholic Churches of these islands. Speaking of the motives by which you were influenced in rejecting the Veto, he ascribes them to “the bigotry of ignorance, your jealousy of England, the democracy of revolutionists, and the principles of rebellion and separation.” No. I. p. 25. You see he does not allow you a single atom of piety or religion in this transaction. It would be a loss of time for any writer, but particularly for me, who am barely giving an analysis of the more heterodox passages in the farago of Columbanus, to refute the sophistry, to state aright the misrepresented history, and to expose the numberless blunders and theological errors of this unaccredited innovator’s new system of Bishop-making, which he dictates rather than proposes to the Irish clergy and laity. It is sufficient for my present purpose to shew, that it is absolutely *schismatical*, and that those who may adopt it, would *cease to be Catholics*.. To be brief; he calls upon the *Irish People to adopt a plan* for this purpose, which he pronounces to be the only constitutional and the *only Catholic plan*. No. I. p. 80. Now no people on earth, as such, can *adopt a plan*, or *make laws* of any kind

for the spiritual kingdom of Jesus Christ, without rebelling against that kingdom : and the French National Assembly, some twenty years ago, rushed into schism by attempting it, as all Catholics confess. 2dly. He maintains that the Civil Power, though in the hands of Arians, Protestants, or even of a Nero or a Caligula, may canonically confirm a Bishop elect : No. I. p. 50, 79. ignorantly confounding the consent which Gothic Kings or Eastern Emperors, which a Frederic, a Catharine, or a Turkish Sultan, has sometimes made a condition of their allowing Catholic Prelates to take possession of their temporalities (and which is sometimes improperly termed Confirmation) with that *essential confirmation*, or institution, (the *το κρυος* of the 4th Can. 1. Nic.) which *properly makes the Bishop*, “as all canonists testify, with common consent.”* Now that any *lay power*, and much more that a *Protestant power* can give episcopal confirmation in this proper sense of the word, is too monstrous a proposition to be so much as considered. 3dly. He refuses to the Pope his power of confirming Bishops or giving them spiritual faculties, p. 80. though the Council of Trent expressly ascribes it to him, Sess. xxiv. cap. 1. De Ref. Sess. vi. cap. 1. and though the late Pope, Pius VI. expressly declares that “it would be his duty to pronounce

* Van Espen. See Append to the Author's late Instructions, p. xvi.

“ schismatics all Bishops whether consecrators
 “ or consecrated, who should presume to act
 “ without it.” Brev. 13 Apr. 1791.

But what schismatical impiety is this unfortunate Priest likely to stop at, when we hear him applauding and recommending John Joseph Dillon's late work, dedicated to the University of Oxford, called “Two Memoirs on the Catholic Question.” The doctrine of this which the author seems to value himself most upon, is contained in the following extract, “Though the character or faculty
 “ of the Ministry emanates from the Church—yet
 “ the State is vested with a right of controul over
 “ all its subjects, and of declaring by *what persons*, and in *what places*, and under *what qualifications* that spiritual authority, which it cannot confer shall be exercised.” p. 41. Of this work, Doctor O'Connor publishes an eulogium as follows: “I am aware that no praise I can
 “ bestow on Mr. Dillon's book, entitled *Two
 “ Memoirs on the Catholic Question*, can add to
 “ its merit or enhance its reputation; but I think
 “ it a duty I owe to my country to *recommend*
 “ the perusal of *that excellent work*, as the most
 “ conciliatory and *argumentative* which has yet
 “ appeared on that question.” No. III. p. 138. Thus according to the Barrister Dillon, and the theological Doctor O'Connor, a Protestant, or a Turkish, or Pagan state, no matter which, has

canonical right, not barely of a Veto, but of *positively declaring*, which person among Catholic Clergymen, rightly ordained, shall *hic et nunc* be *Bishop or Parish Priest* ; *what place*, that is, *what extent* his bishopric or parish, shall extend to ; and with respect to *what persons and cases* his spiritual power shall be *reserved*. This comprises the whole extent of spiritual jurisdiction, which, if it resided in the tyrant Henry, or the child Edward, or the woman Elizabeth, then indeed our ancestors were fools, as both these writers intimate they were, in not taking the old oath of Supremacy. But after all we do not find that he, *whose kingdom was not of this world*, asked leave either of Herod or of Cæsar, when he said to his Apostles : *All power in heaven and on earth is given to me : therefore go teach all nations baptizing them, &c.* Matt. xxviii. 18. Another passage in the work praised and recommended by Dr. O'Connor, is equally schismatical, and still more ostensible, as the author prints it all in capital letters, and refers to it on different occasions. He says, “ I acknowledge no power
“ on earth which has a right to *controul my opi-*
“ *nions* or the *publication* of them, with respect
“ to the *discipline of the Catholic Church*, or the
“ conduct of its ministers connected with *muni-*
“ *cipal law* and temporal government.” Append.
p. xxi. Why we all know that, 'till within these few years, the municipal law forbid the Doctor

to say, and the Lawyer to hear mass on a Sunday ; and there are different branches of our discipline which the law still prohibits ; the consequence is that, in such circumstances, these men are justified in publishing that such discipline is not obligatory in conscience. I cannot omit noticing the earnestness with which this sworn friend of Columbanus, presses the legislature to enact the Veto and its concomitant arrangements, without communicating on the subject with any description of Catholics whatever. Append. xxxi.

Though “ the sanguine hopes which this man “ entertains of seeing the object he has in view “ effected,” rest chiefly on the power of those great statesmen, to whom he constantly alludes, yet he is exceedingly desirous of the co-operation of the laity and the clergy towards it. On one occasion indeed he hints that even the Bishops (whose spiritual power it is intended to controul, and whom in this very passage he most grossly insults) may be allowed to take some small share in the business. Speaking of them he says : “ Let us not be *cajoled* by the *hypocritical cant-* “ *ing* of men who would dispense thralldom to “ others, and reserve independence to themselves. “ No ; let us in a national and free council, and “ *in union with our Bishops, calmly reform our-* “ *selves.*” No. I. p, 25. But though he calls upon *the people* generally to meet together and

enact laws for reforming their Church, he by no means calls upon the *common people* to do this. On the contrary this country parish priest every where speaks of the poor Irish with the utmost contempt, calling them “ a mob, a rabble, an “ *overgrown population, &c.*” * The latter epithet which sufficiently marks the degenerate Irishman, is his common one. To be brief, the National Council which he calls for, is to resemble, he tells you, that held by Celsus, where, besides the Bishops, 1300 ecclesiastics and religious, together with the nobility and gentry attended. Before we proceed any further I should like to ask him what makes and what unmakes an Irish Gentleman? Does the curse of Cromwell, in particular, disfranchise him? If Mr. Wellesley Pole were to give leave for such a meeting, I fancy it would be found almost as difficult to settle these preliminary points as to prove that such an assembly, however numerous or respectable, has received from Jesus Christ any power at all to legislate for his Church. But there is no danger of Irish Catholics following such pernicious advice, for if they should even so far forget their religion as to usurp the divine right of their Prelates, yet sentiment will prevent their ever forgetting that patriotic and

* He is so averse to democratic votes, that having occasion to quote from St. Leo, the *Consensus cleri plebisque*, in elections, he translates *plebis*, the *Representatives of the People*. No. I, p. 28.

apostolical Resolution of your Meeting on the 24th of February, 1810: “ Resolved, that we
 “ neither seek nor desire any other earthly con-
 “ sideration for our spiritual ministry to our res-
 “ pective flocks, save what they may, from a
 “ sense of religion and duty voluntarily afford us.”
 This resolution, which was matter of comfort and exultation to every true Catholic heart, sets the modern St. Columban quite beside himself with vexation. See No. III. 76.

Still it is to the Catholic clergy of the second order, that he pays his chief court, for the vain purpose of exciting them to resist the just authority of their bishops and their fathers, to and lend their powerful aid to the deep-laid plot of subjugating their divine Church to the civil powers of the country, in the same manner that the Protestant establishment is subject to it. With this view he extols the officiating parish priests of Ireland, as being highly respectable and important to the welfare of the state, and he praises their ardent zeal and indefatigable labours in the service of their parishioners. But let me ask him, 1st. Why then did you exchange this honourable and meritorious ministry (to which I apprehend you were bound by your college-oath) for the indolence and luxury of an English palace? 2dly. Who is backward in paying the same just tribute to the value and the virtues of those truly apostolical

labourers? Most certainly not their Bishops, whose coadjutors, nay, whose *joy and whose crown* they are. The truth is, both degrees of the priesthood are perfectly sensible that their honour and their interest for this world and the next, are inseparably connected together, and that whoever attempts to separate them intends ruin to them both. Continuing the same subject, this writer charges me in particular, with calling a priest who, “ stems the tide of immorality, a man of straw, and with affirming that “ his very name of *Priest* is a title of contempt.” No. III. p. 36. Shameless reviler! So far from uttering such a sentiment, I have ever expressed myself, as I deeply feel, that I am much more honored by the functions and jurisdiction attached to me as a Priest, than by those attached to me as a Bishop. And yet I must resist, as every good Priest, also will resist the condemned error of the ancient heretic Ærius, and of the modern Columban, who, being disappointed in their expectations of episcopacy, teach that there is a perfect equality both as to jurisdiction and order between the two degrees, except as to the single power of ordaining Priests. I should think I affronted any Catholic clergyman who had gone through his course of theology and ecclesiastical history, were I to undertake the task of proving the heterodoxy of this doctrine, or to adduce the answers that Bellarmine gives to the objections

built on certain words of S.S. Jerome and Chrysostome, which Columba has borrowed from him. No, there is not a Catholic Priest in the world, except the unhappy Columba (I do not know whether or no I ought to call him a Catholic) who will not confess that he owes what he vowed at his ordination, *obedience to his bishop*, and that bishops alone are by divine authority, *the judges of Christian faith and morality*, and the *legislators of ecclesiastical discipline*, as on the other hand, there is no Catholic Bishop who will not most chearfully acknowledge his priests, with the exception of a few heterodox and turbulent individuals, to be his counsellors, and, in subordination to himself, the teachers of his flock. This being so, I shall not dwell on the indecent, as well as schismatical epithets of “snivelling, sy-cophant Priests.” No. III. p. 31, which this sacerdotal courtier applies to the whole collection of his former brethren.

But it is on the subject of censures that this disorganizer labours most to excite your clergy against you. Indeed it is one of the most essential parts of the arrangements connected with the Veto; and the one which he sets out with enforcing upon your countrymen, that all spiritual power, whether of excommunication, suspension, the withholding or withdrawing of spiritual faculties, should be subject to the civil power, that is to say, to judges

or justices of peace who are the organs of that power: but he is naturally much more eager to effect this, since his own spiritual faculties have been withdrawn in each of the districts, on the borders of which he resides, in consequence of the various heterodox and schism published in his former numbers. He begins the first of them with proclaiming that “ anti-fanatical statesmen
 “ are endeavouring to interpose an ægis of defence between the liberties of the Irish people,
 “ and the usurpations of their hierarchy,” p. 9.* He goes on to state that priests, whom *he pronounces to be men of morals, &c.* have been denied employment by their bishops; and he then exclaims: “ Is the responsibility of the law never
 “ to be known in Ireland?” p. 24. This “ responsibility of *the law*,”—the “ salutary restraint of a *legal responsibility*, and the interference of *the law*,” “ *control of the law*,” he repeats incessantly like a parrot; and like a parrot he has caught the sounds from beings of more consequence than himself, which is the reason why I pay so much attention to him. Let us suppose that this un-catholic innovator, with his three schismatical books in his hands,

* Addressing the Prelates he says: “ Recollect that our Saviour was excommunicated, and that in all cases of censures the question must ever recur, whether they are just or unjust, and that this question must be *decided* by the canon law and the *laws of our country*.” No. II. p. lxvi.

had legal power to summon me before the Court of King's Bench, for refusing to commission him as a teacher of Catholic doctrines to my flock, I should know what sentence to expect, though at the same time, I should know it to be my duty rather to suffer death than to turn such a wolf loose among my sheep. Or suppose another sacerdotal wolf, whom I need not name, were to cite you, my respected colleague, before his worship or his reverence, the neighbouring justice, and there complain that you had interdicted him for taking his breakfast on a Sunday, before saying mass, or for preferring a beef steak to a potatoe for his dinner on a Good Friday, or for entering into the holy state of matrimony, the magistrate would lay down the law, and the bad priest would descant upon the canons, with just as much fidelity and confidence as Columba does, and you would infallibly be ordered to give him a paper of unrestricted spiritual faculties; but I am sure that the zealous and virtuous clergy of Ireland would rather be all interdicted themselves than submit to such an enfranchisement, and such a discipline as would subject their pure and honourable ministry to be disgraced by an association with the very refuse of their order. I know there are statesmen prepared to say, that the justice of peace would be bound to decide, in all questions of this nature, according to the canons and discipline of our Church: But

to this every good and well instructed Catholic would answer : We never can acknowledge, either in *Protestants*, or even in *unauthorized Catholics* any right whatever to pronounce on the canons or discipline of our *divine Church*, without the most criminal violation of them.

Again, the clergy cannot fail of observing in the above quoted and other passages, particularly where this herald of schism assures us, that, “ Fortunately, there are English statesmen, “ who still endeavour to hold the ægis of the law “ between the abuses of spiritual power and the “ liberties of the Irish people.” No. II. p. 125, that it is not only *their* exemption from the jurisdiction of their bishops, but also that of *the laity* from the jurisdiction of the clergy in general which these statesmen are endeavouring to effect, and which Columba has very sanguine hopes of seeing accomplished.” No. II. p. II. The Veto, with its consequent arrangements being once established by law, we are given to understand that the Parish Priest will be amenable to the justice of peace or minister, for refusing any sacrament or rite of the Catholic Church to the most profligate of his parishioners, in the same manner as the Bishops will be to a higher department of the state for consecrating a colleague, or appointing a Vicar General, without a Royal Congè d’elire. The priest must not presume, in

any case whatever, to dispense with its discipline or exclude from its communion, by virtue of any power from his own Church, but will be required to ask permission for this purpose from Dr. Duignan, who in quality of ecclesiastical privy counsellor and episcopal official, wields the sceptre both of the established Church and the State in all such matters. On the other hand, he will be called upon and required to excommunicate his flock by thousands for any temporary purpose of ministers, and even of magistrates. With respect to the communion, or sacrament of the Lord's Supper, as Protestants call it, innumerable are the instances in this country, of Protestant clergymen being cited and punished, for having refused to administer it to persons whom they judged unworthy, upon the ground that such refusal was injurious to their character. Now as this echo of great statesmen loudly calls upon the "rulers of the British Islands to observe, that the Irish discipline must be rendered more analogous to our constitution," there can be no question but that this being once effected, no priest will dare to withhold even the blessed Eucharist, who is not prepared to suffer the rigour of the law for so doing. These and other effects of the same nature, will follow from "the interposition of that ægis of the law, which English anti-fanatical statesmen now offer to the Catholics of Ireland," and of England also.

But as the proposed Reformation of the Catholic religion by English anti-fanatical statesmen is to be made chiefly at the expence of His Holiness the Pope, and of the Venerable Prelates of Ireland, so this anti-clerical priest strains every nerve and adopts every expedient he can think of to render them odious and contemptible in the eyes of the public, both Catholic and Protestant. It is true he makes solemn protestations of paying both the Pope and the Bishops due respect and obedience, No. III. but such protestations, accompanied with such calumnies and such opprobrious epithets, are seen to be mere mockery, and resemble the compliments of a man to his neighbour, who, at the same time, should spit in his face. As to the Pope, to whom we all owe our christianity, civilization, and the preservation of our faith, and to whom he owes his education and early support, this Pontifical alumnus every where represents him as the sworn enemy of Ireland, and he ransacks every page of history to find poisoned arrows to shoot at him. It has been seen above that he tries to drive his countrymen into direct schism, by electing Bishops and getting them confirmed by the civil power, without any influx of spiritual jurisdiction from the present exclusive source of it. With the like schismatical presumption, and in opposition to

the definitions of General Councils * he teaches that “ the Primacy (of the Holy See) can exert
 “ itself visibly only when faith or morals are visibly attacked.” No. III. p. 112. He even accuses the present Pontiff, Pius VII. in express terms of a “ schismatical act,” No. III. p. 28. and he takes open part with the schismatic Blanchard, No. III. p. 148. condemned as he is by every Catholic Prelate of England, Ireland, and North America. How naturally do those who fight against the Catholic Church, though sometimes on different grounds, an O’Connor, a Dillon and a Blanchard fall into a confederacy, and lavish praises on each other !

I should swell this letter into a volume were I to notice all the abuse and calumnies which this Priest heaps upon the Bishops, towards whom, in an empty form of words, he professes hereditary respect. Of these I will say, in general, that neither Duigenan, nor Musgrave, nor any other professed Orange or No Popery man has

* “ Ecclesia Romana, disponente Domino, super omnes alias, *ordinariæ potestatis* obtinet principatum, utpote matrem universorum Christi fidelium & magistram.” Concil. Lateran. IV. can. 5. “ De finimus Romanum Pontificem omnium Christi fidelium patrem et doctorem existere, et ipsi, in Beato Petro, *pascendi, regendi, gubernandi ecclesiam universalem a Christo plenam potestatem esse.*” Concil. Florent. Labbe. T. XXVIII.

ever come up to them in virulence or falsity. He opens one of his works, "The Historical Address" with the following motto, (part of which is from St. Jerom, speaking of the Semi-Arian Council of Ariminum, the other part his own malignant addition) "That the Bishops have *betrayed* us is " not the result of calm, canonical discussion, " but of a *treacherous conspiracy*." Now I maintain that, when the Bishops in September, 1808, and again in February, 1810, resolved, that " it " is inexpedient to make any alteration in the " Canonical mode hitherto observed in the ap- " pointment of the Catholic Bishops of Ire- " land," so far from betraying their flocks as the Bishops of Ariminum did, they decided according to the earnest and declared wishes of 99 in every 100 of them, and more particularly to those of their clergy. He begins his first number with accusing them of " a lust of power and pride of " domination"—of " consecrating by a sacred " name usurpation," and " forming a conspiracy " under the mask of religion, and the loud tu- " multuous roar of spiritual independency against " the civil and religious liberties of the Irish " people." No. I. p. 14. He proceeds to charge them with " cajoling a nation famed for quick- " ness of perception, by hypocritical canting, " into thralldom." p. 24. He signifies that, " for " the sake of preserving their uncontrolled domi-

“ nion, they resist the evidence of a General
 “ Council, as the High Priests of the Synagogue
 “ resisted the miracles of Jesus Christ.” p. 40.
 and he insinuates that by their present conduct,
 “ they entail on posterity a servile, sycophant
 “ snivelling and simoniacal priesthood.” p. 43.
 Yes, the priest, who has left his poor but inde-
 pendent parish in Ireland, for a service in an
 English palace, does not blush to publish this !
 He elsewhere throws out an imputation of simony
 against the Bishops themselves, No. I. p. 21. and
 more directly charges them with “ perjury” in
 breaking their oath of allegiance, No. III. p. 120,
 for no better reason than because they appoint
 the parish priests in their respective dioceses and
 receive institution themselves from the Pope ; and
 because in consequence of their being such Bi-
 shops and Priests, they receive contributions for
 their support from the piety of the faithful. I
 never heard that Dr. O’Connor had any scruple
 on this head, either when he was a Parish Priest
 or when he was canvassing for a Bishopric ! But
 I am really sick of so much nonsense, so much
 malignity and so much irreligion : hence, instead
 of collecting any more of these separate accusa-
 tions I will present you with the four grand
 charges against you, his native Prelates, as on
 these he rings the charges of abuse, till he stuns
 us, throughout the whole of his 500 pages.

The first of these charges is, that the prelates have entered into a confederacy to bequeath their dioceses, like private property, at their respective demises. Now this you know is utterly false. The discipline of the Church of Ireland, as it exists at present in the appointment of Bishops is the best calculated to give orthodox, moral, pious and charitable prelates, good citizens and good subjects that can possibly be imagined, and it approaches the nearest to that of the primitive Church, during the happiest ages of her existence, of any that now obtains any where, or has obtained for these thousand years and more. This will appear on consulting Thomassinus, de Marca and other canonists. To be brief, as you well know, the chapter of the vacant diocese postulates or requests to have such a particular clergyman for their bishop, and it was by an act of the chapter of Elphin, that Dr. O'Connor's pretensions to that see were negatived. The Bishops have the right, though they very rarely make use of it, of amending the return of the chapter. Such also was the discipline of the ancient Church. Both parties, that is to say, both the Chapter and the Bishops, besides the orthodoxy, piety, zeal and learning of the candidate, consider his civil and social qualities, and make due inquiry how far he is likely to be acceptable or obnoxious to government, and to the clergy and laity of the diocese: and the two last synods in

Dublin have expressly “ Resolved, that they
 “ will recommend such candidates only as are of
 “ unimpeachable loyalty and peaceable con-
 “ duct.” The Pope, who, by the actual discipline is, in this respect, the Universal Metropolitan, gives confirmation or institution, being the precise act which confers episcopal jurisdiction, and which authorizes some other bishop to consecrate the elect. Such is the actual discipline. It is true, that two of your most ancient and infirm Prelates have obtained coadjutors, by a dispensation which has occasionally been granted in every age of the Church, from the time of Narcissus of Jerusalem down to that of St. Francis of Sales, who chose his own brother to be his coadjutor : but it is a truth also, that there never was an appointment of this sort more warmly or universally applauded than that which this malignant man is pleased to find fault with. No. I. p. 12. The obvious cause of these complaints is that he himself has been rejected ; *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.*—His second general charge against his bishops is, that they do not choose to receive the four articles, framed for the French Church, during the dispute between Louis XIV. and Pope Innocent XI. If they were to accept of them, he would then have reason to complain of their having enacted a new discipline, unknown to St. Patrick, St. Lasarien, St. Malachy, and St. Laurence. In the

mean time, if Dr. O'Connor himself chooses to accept of them and to defend them, I am disposed to believe that the Prelates will not dispute with him on these scholastic matters; most certainly I shall not. But when he tells us, that he himself "made a solemn vow on the day of his ordination in the church of St. John Lateran, before the great altar, never to sacrifice the canons of the universal Church." No. III. p. 7. Such as he describes these four articles to be, he is either now guilty of a deliberate falsehood, or he was then and there guilty of a criminal prevarication [(such as Thomas Cranmer was guilty of at his consecration :) for he knows in his conscience, that if he had signified to the Pope's Prelates that such were his sentiments, and such his vow with respect to the articles, he would not only have been dismissed from the Church of St. John Lateran, without his order, but also from the Ludovisian college. His third general accusation is, that the Bishops are *exclusive doctors*, arrogating to themselves the exclusive right of "proposing, entertaining and judging, without any lay intervention on points of Christian faith and general discipline," for such is the declared sense of your prelates, on the 26th of February, 1810, of your resolution two days before, in which you claimed for those of your order "the exclusive right of discussing all matters appertaining to the doctrine and discipline of

“ the Catholic Church.” You never meant to deny the right of priests to instruct their flocks, to give their opinions in diocesan synods, or to argue on theological matters in quality of theologians: all that you claimed, and this you were bound to claim on the part of yourselves and brethren, and especially of your head, the exclusive right of discussing and determining all such matters in quality of *ecclesiastical judges and legislators*. In a word your resolution had a particular regard to a new arrangement of the discipline of your Church, which, it was well known, certain laymen, Protestant, as well as Catholic, with the advice of a few unauthorized clergymen, such as Dr. O’Connor, were then making, without the least communication whatever with you. It is true, this writer does not in *this passage* proceed so far in his doctrine, as these laymen were proceeding in their conduct. He does not deny that the Bishops have a right to decide upon these matters, but he contends that priests of the second order have an equal right with them. But even this is contrary to the doctrine and practice of the Church in all her councils and synods, and stands in direct opposition to the authority which himself quotes, of Benedict XIV. who expressly teaches, as do all other canonists, that not only in General and Provincial Councils, but also in diocesan synods, though priests may give their

votes, *bishops alone have a right to decide*. If such, however, were not the established doctrine and practice of the Catholic Church, what prudent and good man could suffer the intolerable arrogance of this petty chaplain, in arraigning and condemning, as he repeatedly does, each one of the three last synods of the Catholic Church of Ireland. He elsewhere schismatically terms the collection of the prelates “twenty-six self-appointed arbiters for four millions of people.” No. II. p. 2.* and he insolently threatens them that “since they hold their synodical decree (concerning their exclusive right too sacred to be revoked, they will feel the necessity of yielding to the interference of the law.” No. II. p. 211. Not satisfied, however, with the chastisement of the law, he threatens them with his own chastisement also, in the following magisterial terms: “I have before me a narrative, which has been lately transmitted from Ireland. Respect for the episcopal order arrests the hand of justice in expectation of amendment, but let not that amendment be deferred.” No. III. p. 128. Hence we learn that this officious chaplain has

* This is a general charge against the Prelacy: he elsewhere confines it to the Bishops lately appointed: “Those who have been recently appointed to Irish sees are *illegitimate intruders*—usurpers in the eye of sanctity, &c.” No. III. p. 42.

agents in Ireland for the purpose of transmitting to him all the scandal, whether founded or unfounded, arising in the Catholic body ; which being received, he “ thinks himself bound to “ submit it to the consideration of those whose “ judgment and discretion is likely to assist him “ in forming his opinion of it.” No. I. p. 3.

The modern Columban’s fourth grand charge against the Catholic Bishops, is on the subject of their allegiance, against which he brings more than insinuations ; though Lord Grenville in his Letter, and Lord Castlereagh with the other legislators of both parties in their Parliamentary Speeches, do them ample justice on this head. He writes a whole chapter to prove that the “ Bishop’s oath of allegiance is worse than nugatory, until ultra montane ideas are restrained.” No. II. p. 114, in which chapter they are charged with “ the violation of that oath,” by adhering to their present canonical discipline. No. II. p. 50. In another passage, having given an account of the conduct of Rinuccini, which he calls “ impious, and a direct violation of public faith, and “ of an oath—the first part of which consisted of “ allegiance to the King”—he proceeds “ And “ yet they” the orators of the Irish Catholic Committee, “ have seen an Upper and a Lower “ House, formed by Ultramontanists, in the “ course of this very year ! (1810) The Upper

“ House composed of My Lords, the Ultramon-
 “ tane Bishops, assembled in Synod ; the Lower
 “ of Delegates from the different counties, with
 “ Lord French at their head ; and the Upper
 “ guilty precisely of the crime of which Rinuc-
 “ cini gave the example ; for their very first Re-
 “ solution of February 26th, is an arrogant as-
 “ sumption of exclusive power.” No. II. p.
 206.

In support of this alarming charge against
 “ the foreign-influenced Bishops,” and the Ultra-
 “ montane Bishops,” as he constantly calls the
 Catholic Prelates of Ireland, and of that against
 his foster-father, the Pope, whom he always re-
 presents as the sworn enemy of Ireland, he brings
 forward in his second number what he calls “ An
 “ Historical Address,” consisting chiefly of a
 most malignant misrepresented account of the
 transactions of the Catholics in Ireland, during
 the grand rebellion in England, and more parti-
 cularly of the conduct of the Catholic Bishops
 and of the Pope’s Nuncio, Rinuccini. Now sup-
 posing all this were as bad as he represents it, I
 maintain that it is quite as just to reproach the
 present Parliament with the rebellious and regi-
 cide proceedings of the Long Parliament, as it
 is to charge the present Catholic Bishops and the
 poor prisoner, in the dungeons of Savona, with

any thing amiss which might have been done by Catholic Ecclesiastics during the same precise period in Ireland. As there is not perhaps a single trait of history given by this writer, nor hardly a quotation or the translation of a quotation* which is not, some how or other corrupted or distorted, so there is not any part of his voluminous publication, which contains more misrepresentation and falsehood than the part in question. This will appear by comparing it with the candid and authenticated “ Review of the Civil Wars in “ Ireland,” drawn up by Dr. Curry, whom he calls “ his friend,” and revised and published by his own grandfather, Charles O’Connor of Balanagar, whose life he wrote and printed. From this it appears that, when England and Scotland were up in arms to murder their King and overturn the Constitution, there was a settled plan, which was executed to a dreadful extent by the Irish Government itself, of exterminating the Catholics of Ireland,† and that of course the Catholics

* A judgment may be formed of this writer’s fidelity by merely comparing his own quotations with the versions which he gives of them. For example, he gives these words from Sandini : “ Nemo quantumvis eruditus et sanctus non interdum *hallucinatur, cæcutit labitur.*” These he translates—“ Saints, however respectable for learning and sanctity, are “ often *great fools !*” No. II. p. vii.

† The writer now describes “ the Irish rabble bursting forth in 1641, and committing the atrocious S. Bartholemi “ Massacre.” No. II. p. 54. Before he sold the Irish MSS.

were justified by the law of nature, in standing upon their own defence. This could not be done without a regular association, the leading article of which after swearing allegiance to the King, was “not to lay down their arms till the penal statutes were annulled.” How different was this engagement from the tenor of the solemn league and covenant, entered into at the same period by the Protestants of England and Scotland ! The Confederates had applied to the Pope

of his grandfather, and exchanged his Irish parish for an English palace he represented “the Protestants and Catholics “as equally guilty of the massacre of 1641.” p. 129. But Dr. Curry and his Grandfather invincibly prove that the former began the work of blood at Isle Magee, where 3000 peaceable unoffending Catholics were massacred in cold blood by the Puritans. Review vol. 1. p. 195. With the same adulatory insincerity he pronounces a formal panegyric upon “English honour, punctuality and fair dealing.” No. II. p. 6, with all the narrative of Curry and his Grandfather before his eyes, together with all the penal statutes passed since the Treaty of Limerick, as also the recent violation of the terms of the Union. He even joins with the infamous Walsh in ascribing the whole sanguinary code of persecution since the Reformation, not to the cruelty and bigotry of Elizabeth and the Protestant Government, but to the doctrines and practices of the Catholics :—the first of which offences he says was their refusal to take “the Oath of Supremacy.” No. II. p. 33. He elsewhere tries to prepare Catholics for taking this oath, by an exposition of it contrary to grammatical and historical truth. It is an undeniable fact that the Child Edward and the Woman Elizabeth in virtue of their spiritual supremacy, suspended Bishops and dictated to them their doctrine and discipline, &c.

for assistance, who accordingly sent them money, ships and arms, but unfortunately with these a commander, Rinuccini, of too violent a temper, one who attempted to enforce political, though just and wise measures, by spiritual censures. Several of the leading Confederates were weak, temporizing men, who betrayed the cause of their countrymen and their posterity, by entering into engagements with the perfidious traitor Ormond, and who exceeded their powers and broke their oath of association by doing so, without stipulating for the said repeal of the penal laws, and without obtaining proper security (when the Monarch could neither protect them nor himself) for the observance of the terms. This fatal conduct Rinuccini opposed with all his force: but he did wrong in making use of ecclesiastical censures against it. Had his advice, however, been followed, the Catholics would not only have effected their own salvation, but also that of their King and Constitution; the curse of Cromwell would never have been known, nor the cruel and unjust laws of William and of Anne. England and Ireland would have remained united under one King, enjoying the same Civil Constitution, but each possessing its own Religion. The cause of why these wise and consistent measures were not followed was the folly of some of the Catholic nobility and gentry, in trusting to the perfidious Ormond. “ It is therefore no wonder that

“ Ormond’s brother-in-law, Lord Muskerry, (one
 “ of these weak Confederates) when on his death
 “ bed declared to himself, that the heaviest fear
 “ that possessed his soul, then going to eternity,
 “ was for his having confided so much in his
 “ Grace who had deceived them all and ruined
 “ his poor countrymen.”* The work which I
 here quote demonstrates a series of barbarity,
 perfidy, hypocrisy, and rapaciousness in this
 boasted loyalist, Ormond, hardly to be parallel-
 ed in history. Ormond began his career in Ire-
 land as the sanguinary tool of the infamous Par-
 sons and company, carrying devastation and
 murder through whole counties, without distinc-
 tion of age or sex, of armed or unarmed.† He
 was the continual and it may be said the sole
 cause during whole years why peace was not
 made with the Catholics, to the mutual advan-
 tage of the Royal and the Catholic cause, dis-
 obeying in this particular, the repeated and posi-
 tive orders of his Royal Master, and even impri-
 soning the Earl of Glamorgan, who was sent by
 Charles to do what Ormond had so often refused
 to do. When at last he did treat with them, it
 was for the express purpose of betraying them
 into the hands of their sworn enemies.‡ At
 length, rather than unite with the Catholics,

* Curry’s Review, revised by the late C. O’Connor of Balangare. Vol. 2. p. 134.

† Vol. 1. p. 246, 265. ‡ P. 315, 319.

whom he knew to be strictly loyal, and who might still have saved their King and Country, as being the last subjects who bore arms in this cause, he delivered up Dublin and the Government of Ireland into the hands of the regicides, after stipulating for a proper compensation for himself.* In the reign of Charles II. his professed object was to ruin the Catholics, whom the sword had spared, by intestine divisions. One of his creatures Lord Orrery writes to him as follows: “ I humbly offer to your Grace whether
 “ this may not be a fit season to make that
 “ schism, which you have been sowing among
 “ the Popish Clergy, publicly break out, so as
 “ to set them at open difference, as we may
 “ reap some practical advantage thereby.”† He afterwards publicly declared that his “ aim in
 “ permitting a meeting of the Catholic Clergy,
 “ was to work a division among them, and that
 “ he believed he had compassed it, if he had not
 “ been removed.”‡ Finally, for the sake of enjoying a large share of the plundered property, he was the chief cause why the loyal Irish Catholics had not their estates restored to them in the aforesaid reign.§ All this time the wretched Apostate was a Catholic in his heart as appeared at the end of his life, though he had not the grace to follow the dictates of his conscience. Such

* P. 386. † Vol. 2. p. 94. ‡ P. 95. § P. 97. 120,

is the man whom the modern St. Columban recommends in the strongest terms to the admiration and affection of his Catholic countrymen, No. II. p. 263. praising him even for giving up Dublin to the Regicides, rather than unite with the Catholics, and selecting him for a comparison with the man to whom he is bound by gratitude, but whose name he “dares not mention.” Thank God, however, there is no resemblance between the two, except in the imagination of the blundering panegyrist.*

I cannot say, my dear friend, with St. Jerome, “*Dabo operam ut me oderint omnes hæretici :*” but I can say, nearly in the words of the Roman orator: “*Nemo per hos annos viginti ecclesiæ hostis fuit, qui mihi quoque non bellum indixit.*” Hence I should have been disap-

* This writer seems to insinuate a comparison between himself and Father Walsh: at any rate he repeatedly loads him with praises. Now it appears that Walsh’s boasted loyalty was as much at the service of Cromwel as of Charles; that he was the tool of Ormond in all and every one of the latter’s attempts to divide the Catholics for the purpose of ruining them; that he ridiculed the necessity of believing in the definitions of the Council of Trent, and that “he was in all points of controversy almost wholly a Protestant, but that he excused his adhering to the Church of Rome—because he could do some good in staying on that side, but that he could do none at all if he should come over” to Protestantism. See Bishop Burnet’s History of his own times, Vol. I. p. 194, &c. also Hist. of Remon.

pointed if Columban had not honoured me also with a due share of his abuse and calumnies. He threatened me the other day with bringing my assertion concerning his denial of the spiritual jurisdiction of Catholic Prelates, &c. into a court of law, as “affecting his professional character, &c. No. III. p. 6. Now I declare beforehand, that I shall never summon him to a court of law, for any of the libellous matter which I am about to state, no more than I am sure you will for publishing that your oath of allegiance is worse than nugatory. He begins with calling me “a stick, a stone, a clod of earth, a polypus, &c.” No. I. p. 55. He charges me with “exciting men to suffer martyrdom for my own wicked and heretical additions to revelation,” and with “impeaching the infallibility of the Catholic Church.” No. I. p. 59. because I have repeatedly published, that I would “rather spill the last drop of my blood than concur in giving either power or influence to any person or persons, who are not themselves Catholics, over any portion of the Catholic Church.” He again charges me with “arrogant and heretical pretensions, the monstrous offspring of pride and ignorance, which naturally confederate against humility and learning.” No. III. p. 31, because I have taught that it is the right of Bishops to judge of, and decide upon matters of faith and Christian morality. He says much the

same in No. III. p. 22. He once more accuses my doctrine “ with being not only heretical but
 “ also expressly condemned as such, because,” he says, “ I am guilty of the deep criminality of
 “ attempting to degrade the second order of
 “ priesthood, by dogmatizing that they have no
 “ right to judge or to discuss what is or is not
 “ an article of their own faith, what is or is
 “ not martyrdom, or whether death for *faction*
 “ *masked by religious canting, can be sanctified*
 “ *by a profanation of religious names.*” No. III. p. 39. He says that my pretensions are not only heretical, but also “ degraded by the Mahometan principles of the Turkish diocese of Castabala.” No. III. p. 31. and that he himself “ would be degraded, if he could submit to the Mahometan principles of Castabala,” No. II. p. 37. He calls me “ a Turkish basha of Castabala.” No. III. p. 138.* He signifies that I “ wear a turban,” No. III. p. 37. that I “ meditate on the Koran, *ibid.*” that my “ favourite theology is that of the Koran ;” No. II. p. 102; and that I have “ holy pigeons,” (as Ma-

* The see of Castabala, though the very name of it sickens Columban and some of his associates, after all, is an apostolical see, mentioned by St. Ignatius of Antioch, in the first century, whose bishop Mozes sat in the first council of Nice. The city itself is famous for a breed of vigilant mastiffs, the scriptural emblems of faithful pastors.

homet is said to have had) to bill in my ear, in order to pass for a person inspired. According to him I am "ignorant not only of the canons " but also of the faith of my own Church." No. III. p. 32 ; because I denied, as he falsely says, " that priests, by a dispensation from the Pope, can confer the sacrament of confirmation, which point he represents as an " article of faith taught " by Bellarmine ;" though it is no such thing, nor does Bellarmine affirm it. He insinuates that I teach " smuggling to be no sin." No. III. p. 35. On this subject, in particular, I should be glad to be informed by him when and where I taught that principle. He describes my writing as " the vulgar, bigotted, pamphleteering jargon " of Castabala." No. III. p. 259, and he complains that I am " so ignorant as to confound " St. Columba of Iona with St. Columban of " Lucieu." No. III. p. 56.* Indignant that it should fall to my lot to have vindicated the existence of the patron saint of Ireland, and the derivation of its Christianity from the centre of unity, both which facts the whole collection of

* I have expressly distinguished between them in my " Elucidation of the Veto," p. 9, where I have said that Dr. O'Connor is neither one of them nor the other. It appears that this Irish Antiquary is himself ignorant, that the Saint whose name he usurps, frequently calls himself *Columba*, *Paludanus*, and any name that has reference to a *Dore*, which I have intimated, is the reason why I sometimes call the writer himself *Columba*,

modern writers, seduced by Dr. Ledwich, scouted before my letters from Ireland appeared, Dr. O'Connor nibbles at a few of my numerous documents in support of them, No. III. p. 49. and yet some of these he himself had appealed to in the Life of his Grandfather as genuine, and all of them are admitted by such men as Usher, Ware, Harris, Colgan, Alban Butler, &c. In return, he puts himself to the expense of engraving four lines of an Italian MS. which he says is 1000 years old, and in which St. Patrick's name occurs. But what degree of light can even an authenticated MS. of 1000 years old cast upon a fact demonstrated upon authorities so much more ancient and certain! It is like holding up a farthing candle to shew the sun by. He says that he helped me to some of the best additional authorities, contained in the second edition of my tour, concerning this saint; and I aver that this assertion is a downright falsehood. With the same disregard of truth he tells a pretended and self refuted story of a conversation between us, relative to my alledged quotation of Gildas, in the History of Winchester, "for the History of King Arthur," No. III. p. 50, and he elsewhere reproaches me with such pretended false quotation. Now then let my said history be inspected, Vol. I. p. 61, note 4; it will be found that I quote Gildas *merely for the year*, viz. the 44th from the arrival of the Saxons, in which the battle of Mons Badonicus, or of

Bath was fought, but that I quote in the following note, William of Malmesbury as my authority for *the exploits of Arthur* in that battle. See note 5. p. 61. See also the rest of my account of Arthur, and my authorities, p.p. 62, 73, 74.

Not content with making me a Turk and a Mahometan, this man, who is so jealous of his own professional and moral character, accuses me of Pagan Druidism and sorcery. He says :
 “ It ill becomes a Christian bishop to encourage
 “ well-pilgrimages, connected with *sorcery*, and
 “ undertaken for purposes of *Druidical imprecation*, to gratify malice and riot in revenge.” No. III. p. 101. Having quoted certain Saxon canons, prohibiting “ the worship of the sun, the
 “ moon, fire, rivers, fountains and trees,” as likewise “ the custom of the Pagans in introducing
 “ diviners or sorcerers, or attending Pagan lustrations,” he adds “ the Bishop of Castabala
 “ has written a miraculous pamphlet in defence
 “ of them.” p.p. 103—104. He elsewhere charges me with “ canonizing Druidism, and
 “ mixing it up with the doctrines of Christianity.” p. 79. These are pretty heavy and libellous charges against a Christian bishop ; let us now see how he substantiates them. He says that the Saxon prelates forbid the worship of the sun, moon, fountains, &c. as also the introduction of diviners, sorcerers, and the use of Pagan

illustrations. I answer, they did well in so doing; as all these things are forbidden in the first of the Ten Commandments. He next undertakes to trace well-worshipping all the way from Persia, through Arabia, Egypt, Greece and Italy, into Ireland, where, previously to the preaching of St. Patrick "the Pagan Irish adored fountains as "divinities." No. III. p. 82.* Be it so; but he might just as well have traced the system of deception from the imposition of the serpent on our first mother down to his late publication, as to have thrown the dust of his dissertation into the eyes of the ignorant, by way of proving that I worship wells. He then goes on to maintain, as a certain fact, that superstition, and even idolatry, in this point, prevails still in Ireland, particularly in his parish of Castlerea, as he heretofore ascertained by conversing with a very old man, Owen Hester, p. 83. To this I reply, that if there are any superstitions (idolatry, I am sure there is none) respecting fountains, &c. among the Irish people, I am sure that the resident Bishops and clergy endeavour to root them out, and by the same rule Dr. O'Connor

* He elsewhere says, that "they are forbidden by the "venerable councils of our Saxon ancestors." No. III. p. 101. I did not know before that Dr. O'Connor was so far Anglicized as to have abjured his Milesian origin, and to be capable of boasting of his being a *Sassanagh* in a work which he addressed *ad Hibernos*.

would have employed his time much better in instructing his own parishioners and Owen Hester upon the spot concerning them, than in holding these people up to scorn in another country. He admits, indeed, of “travelling to
 “the shrines of the saints and the tombs of the
 “martyrs,” p. 37. and he says, that “the primitive Christians made pilgrimages to the
 “tombs of the martyrs and the sepulchre of our
 “Saviour, but well-pilgrimages he reprobates.” p. 101. I should like, however, to ask him, whether it was not usual for the pilgrims who visited the cave in which Christ’s body was laid, to bathe also in the Jordan in which Christ was baptized? and how a respect for the *water*, in the latter case is more superstitious than a respect for the earth in the former case. The fact is, and every Catholic man, woman and child knows it, that we reverence the memorials of Christ and his saints, whatever these may consist of, not for any divinity, power or virtue which they have in themselves, but inasmuch as they are memorials of them, and in as much as God, who is master of his own works, is pleased occasionally to display his supernatural power at some of them. It is unfortunate that, in this writer’s journey from Persia to Ireland, he should not have halted in a very interesting country called Palestine; because there he would have seen this very water, the Jordan, and would have

learnt that it had been appointed by God to be the instrument of a very well attested miraculous cure, that of Naaman the leper, before the time of Christ. II. alias IV. King, c. v. He would also have seen there the pool or well of Siloam, the water of which, by the appointment of Christ, restored sight to a man born blind, John ix. 7. Finally, he would have seen the holy well of Bethsaida, which had the miraculous quality attached to it, of curing the first sick person who bathed in it at a certain season. John v. 4. Had our captious critic been acquainted with these facts, he would have spared himself the trouble of his long rambling invective against me, becoming sensible that whatever arguments he might use to distinguish between the scriptural and the Pagan lustrations, I should certainly adopt in favour of the good Christians who choose to bathe at Holywell.

The fact is my "Authentic Documents concerning the miraculous cure of W. White at Holywell on the 28th of June, 1805." are so strongly entrenched that neither this lax Catholic nor any of the firm Protestants, who have examined them, or the person herself who is the subject of them, has been able to make the slightest impression upon them. I was called upon by the office which I bear to examine into a reported miracle: I juridically proved it to be

true, both as to the fact itself, and the supernatural nature of it, by the testimony of numberless credible witnesses, unknown to each other. Protestants no less than Catholics, in Lancashire, Cheshire, and Flintshire, as well as in Staffordshire, and amongst these by the physician and surgeon who had attended the poor patient, for between two and three years; so that I do not know, how the fact in either respect can be denied without undermining the Gospel itself. To be brief, a great number of the witnesses are still living, and ready to answer all interrogations as is W. White herself, still in perfect health. Should the modern Columban, or any other person choose to travel into Somersetshire, rather than Staffordshire, he will find, at Taunton Lodge, a person of the name of M. Wood, who has experienced a cure equally sudden and astonishing by the application of moss from the well in question, through faith and prayer.* The writer

* C. says that what is called by the people St. Winefrid's blood, is a vegetable substance, *Bissus polythus*. It is plain he knows nothing of the matter. I have seen the stones of the well and have one of them before me now; they are spotted and streaked with red. With respect to the miracles wrought in his time at Holywell, see the account of Baronius, in his notes on the Roman Martyrology, Nov. 3. from the testimony of Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph, who obtained the Pope's sanction for the pilgrimage in question. See Dodd's Hist. Vol. 1. See also the Litany for England in the common Catholic Manual.

quotes Dr. Linden to prove that the water of Holywell has a *natural* salubrious power. Be it so: but can that or any other water *naturally* cure a patient more than half dead with the palsy and other complaints, which had baffled the medicines of physicians and the knives of surgeons, IN AN INSTANT? Can a bit of moss or any other substance *naturally* restore the use of a hand which had been lost by the cutting through of the tendons necessary to move it, and which the surgeons despaired of curing, and this in the same complete and expeditious manner? With respect to the former case he says that “The Council of Trent enjoins that Bishops shall not decide, upon questions touching miracles, without calling a council of their *Diocesan* clergy who are to discuss and decide, whether the supposed miraculous facts could not be the result of natural causes.” p. 101. Now see, in the Latin text, whether there is a word about *Diocesan* clergy, or about the right of any clergy to *decide* in this matter. “Statuit S. Synodus nulla admittenda esse nova miracula—nisi recognescente et approbante Episcopo: qui simulatque de iis aliquid compertum habuerit, adhibitis in consilium theologis & aliis piis viris ea faciat quæ veritati & pietati consentanea judicaverit.” Sess. xxv. de Inv. S. S. However it so happens that I did take the advice

of such clergy of my district, as were best qualified to give it in this case.

But it is not that this Critic really doubts of the truth of a single fact, or the justice of a single reasoning in the work which he has thought proper to arraign before the public : “ What I complain of” he says, “ is that the Bishop of Castabala countenances supposed miraculous cures which *shake the faith of weak brethren* in the genuine miracles of primitive times.” p. 80. - To this I reply in general, that it is his duty to guide and not to be guided by weak brethren, be they who or what they may. He ought to instruct them, that, as there was a succession of Divine interpositions recorded in Scripture, from the beginning of the world nearly to the time of Christ, so he was pleased to promise those, *who believe in him, shall do the works which he doth and greater works than he doth* ; in a word, that there has been a succession of miracles in the true Catholic Church, recorded by the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, and evidently proved at the canonization of all the saints, down to the present time ; and that this is one of the most striking proofs of the Church, which is under the protection and favour of the most High God.

But to have done with this paragon of all sacerdotal pretenders to Catholicity, at every page

and almost at every line of his heterodox and schismatical farago, I lift up my eyes in gratitude to God, and inwardly congratulate with my venerable brethren and their religious flocks in Ireland, that the former have been saved from such a colleague and the latter from such a pastor ! The deliverance, however, I consider as precarious, till it is demonstrated that Protestant Statesmen shall not interfere in the government of the Cathôlic Church. If they ever succeed in gaining the least degree of power or influence in this concern, depend upon it that you will soon have Columban among you, and that, in process of time, your Church and ours also will be entirely in the hands of the Columbani. Then adieu to the religion of St. Patrick and St. Augustine !

I conclude with the address of St. Jerom to the great St. Augustine, an address which I might make to each of your brethren as well as to yourself in the strict sense of the terms : “ *Macte*
 “ *virtute : in orbe celebrari. Catholici te condito-*
 “ *rem antiquæ fidei venerantur atque suspiciunt*
 “ *et quod signum majoris gloriæ est, hæretici de-*
 “ *testantur : et me pari odio persequuntur. Inco-*
 “ *lumem & mei memorem te Christi Domini*
 “ *clementia tueatur, Domine venerande et bea-*
 “ *tissime Papa.*

J. M.

April 23, 1811.









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